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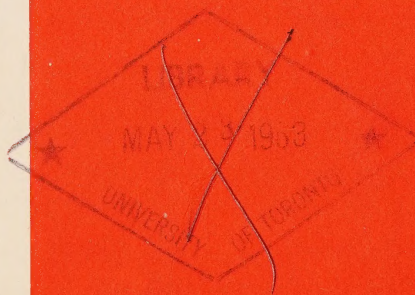


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RESEARCH PROGRAM on the
TRAINING OF SKILLED MANPOWER

TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

by Professors
Oswald Hall and Bruce McFarlane



DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

REPORT No.10
DECEMBER 1962

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on the
TRAINING OF SKILLED MANPOWER

TRANSITION
FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

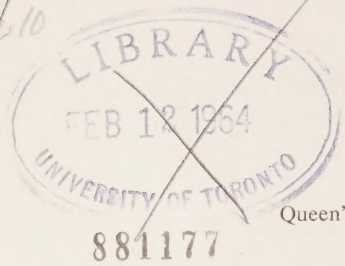
by

Professors Oswald Hall and Bruce McFarlane

REPORT No. 10
December 1962

Department of Labour, Canada, in co-operation with federal and provincial
government agencies and other groups.

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FOREWORD

This report is one of a series of studies carried out under the Skilled Manpower Training Research Program initiated by the Federal Department of Labour in 1957 in co-operation with other interested federal and provincial departments and management and union organizations. The research program is under the general direction of the Interdepartmental Skilled Manpower Training Research Committee and its aims and objectives are set out in detail in Report No. 1 of this series entitled 'Progress Report', issued in June 1957.

One important phase of the Skilled Manpower Training Research Program has been the study of technological changes in selected industries and their effects on manpower and training requirements. In this work the Committee has been greatly assisted by the tripartite Advisory Committee on Technological Change, which was set up in 1957. Another main research theme has been the study of technical and vocational training programs. Additional studies that have been carried out under this program include a report on the ways in which a selected group of tradesmen acquired their skills and reports on the introduction of electronic data processing in offices. A list of the reports available in this series will be found on the inside front cover.

The publication of the *Transition from School to Work*, by Professor Oswald Hall, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto, and Professor Bruce McFarlane, Department of Sociology, Carleton University, Ottawa, initiates a new phase in the development of this research program. The subject matter of this report, the methodology employed in the research and the relationship of the authors to the sponsoring agency mark new departures in this program.

Up to now the Department's research interest in the manner in which the labour force acquires occupational skills has tended to limit itself to vocational education and specialized training of various sorts that take place after young people leave secondary school. In this report, the authors widen this perspective to explore the wide range of relationships between the formal educational system and the world of occupational experience. The report is the story of how a group of young people fared during the period of transition from school to work—the successes, the failures and the accommodations. The authors tried to find out: Who gets where in the school system and how? How are jobs found by newcomers to the work world? How is school achievement linked to job opportunities and income? Who faces unemployment? How effective is guidance in the school system? Who proceeds from high school to further education? Do girls and boys fare similarly in these matters?

Some of the authors' findings simply confirm the existence of problems articulated in previous research. For example, it is quite clear that children from 'middle-class' and professional homes enjoy a higher 'survival rate' in the educational system than would be predicted from an examination of the patterns according to which intelligence is distributed among the students. Nor is it surprising that the job opportunity spectrum is much wider and more promising for the groups that stay in school longer. Such findings, of course, merely underline the 'wastage' that is occurring among the bright students who drop out of school, not because of a lack of intelligence or academic potential, but for economic, psychological and social reasons. At the present time, when it is of crucial importance to the Canadian community to foster the development of talented and skilled manpower, this is a problem that merits thorough investigation in subsequent research.

Some of the authors' findings will come as somewhat of a surprise to many readers. For example, the authors discovered that even in a period of relatively high unemployment, it is apparently easy for boys and girls to find initial jobs. When these first jobs terminate, however, it seems to be easier for the girls to find alternative employment, while the boys suffer the brunt of unemployment.

Still other findings may stimulate controversy. For example, the authors contend that secondary education seems to be a 'girl's world' in the sense that the girls handle our present program more effectively than the boys do. Furthermore, the range of training facilities for girls (both within and outside the formal education system) is greatly superior to that available for boys in the sense that the training is of greater practical assistance in making a satisfactory transition from school to work. The authors argue that this advantage is reflected in the larger proportion of girls than boys who are climbing to a much higher level in the work world than did their parents.

On the off-chance that the foregoing observations may all be accepted with complete calm, the authors add that one consequence of the loss of talented students through early drop-outs is that the universities are providing facilities for a large proportion of mediocre students. They add that the boys who will be tomorrow's school teachers, and who could correct this situation by providing a different teaching milieu for young boys, are themselves not being recruited from a sufficiently high academic calibre group.

The method of research chosen by the authors to attack their subject matter also marks a departure. As sociologists, with a tradition stretching from the Lynds' 'Middletown' to Seeley's 'Crestwood Heights', it is not surprising that the context in which the authors pursue their investigations in 'Paulend' is that of a community study. In the sense that the study is an intensive investigation of a relatively small universe, the methodology used in the study contrasts with both the industry-wide field investigations and survey methods employed in the Department's program to date and with the large-scale statistical studies that have been undertaken under the auspices

of the Atkinson Foundation of the relationship between intelligence and educational achievement among secondary school students in the province of Ontario.

The advantage of the present method in this initial exploration of a murky area,—the margin between school and work—lies in the way the statistical results are supplemented by descriptive material. In addition to the quantitative data provided from an analysis of the school records and employment histories of the 21-year age cohort in this community, the report includes intimate qualitative insights growing out of the interviews with the boys and girls themselves, and with their teachers and employers.

The drawback of this method, is, of course, the limited extent to which these results can be generalized. The authors are aware of this difficulty, admitting that the community chosen could not of course be 'typical' in any absolute sense and describing it rather as a 'relatively stable area for such a study'. They have sought to offset this disadvantage to some extent by carrying out a modified control study in a somewhat comparable district of a large metropolitan area. On comparing the two sets of data, the authors concluded that 'there were no substantial differences in the two populations studied so far as school patterns and initial moves into the work world were concerned'. This material on 'Croydon' is appended to the main study.

The critical reader, however, will view the report as an insight into the real world of school and work in 'Paulend' and will approach the temptation to generalize with circumspection. Any final evaluation of the 'typicality' and general validity of these phenomena must necessarily await the accumulation of additional comparable research data.

The relationship of the authors to the agency sponsoring and financing the study also marks a departure in the Department's program. Other research to date has been undertaken either by Departmental research staff or through contract with individuals working under the direction of Departmental research staff. In the case of the 'Transition from School to Work', although the Department participated in the planning of the research and read the report in draft form, the responsibility for the execution of the research and the findings of the study was delegated in its entirety to the authors.

The Department was fortunate to secure the services of two university professors with extensive experience in the area of sociological research and wishes to express its gratitude for the stimulating insights that they have provided into the critical and complex world of education and jobs. The Department and senior authors would also like to express thanks to Mr. David Peasegood, Mr. David Millett, Miss Maya Anyas and Mrs. Helen Paulin who assisted in the study.

J. P. FRANCIS,
*Director, Economics and Research Branch,
Department of Labour.*

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I—The Community Setting—Paulend.....	4
Chapter II—The Population Selected for Analysis.....	8
Chapter III—Sorting and Sifting in the School System.....	12
Chapter IV—Further Training.....	26
Chapter V—The Work World.....	50
Chapter VI—The Girls' and the Boys' World.....	65
Chapter VII—Guidance in Paulend Schools.....	67
Conclusion.....	75
Appendix I—The Migrants.....	79
Appendix II—Croydon Township.....	80
Appendix III—Tables.....	84
Bibliography.....	87

List Of Tables

PAGE

Table 1—Population Passing Through Paulend High Schools Classified According to Gender, I.Q., Type of Course, Occupation of Father or Guardian, and Highest Grade Reached in School.....	14
Table 2—Percentage of High School Students in Each of the Grades; Paulend and Province of Ontario.....	15
Table 3—Students Leaving High School Classified by Grades Reached and I.Q. Ratings.....	16
Table 4—Students Leaving Paulend High Schools Classified by Grade Achieved and Father's Occupation.....	17
Table 5—Students from Public High Schools Classified by Father's Occupation and General Level of Achievement.....	18
Table 6—Students Leaving High School Classified by Grades Reached and Sex.....	19
Table 7—Students in Croydon Vocational School Classified by Sex, Grade at Leaving School, and Success or Failure in the Grade.....	23
Table 8—High School Achievement of Student Nurses in Final Year at School.....	27
Table 9—Nursing Students Classified by Religion and Occupation of Father.....	28
Table 10—Nurses Progressing to Grade XIII Classified by Religious Denomination and Occupation of Father.....	28
Table 11—Nursing Students Classified by Hospital and Occupation of Father.....	28
Table 12—Student Teachers Classified by Sex and Achievement in Final Year of High School.....	32
Table 13—Student Teachers Classified by I.Q. and Gender.....	32
Table 14—Student Teachers Classified by Religion, Sex and Social Class.....	33
Table 15—Male White Collar Workers in Paulend Classified by Achievement in High School and Kind of Commercial Education.....	40
Table 16—Female White Collar Workers Classified by Type of High School Course and Other Commercial Education.....	40
Table 17—White Collar Workers in Paulend Classified by Sex and Occupation of Father.....	41
Table 18—White Collar Workers in Paulend Classified by Sex and Geographic Mobility.....	41
Table 19—Semi-Skilled Girls Classified by Success or Failure of Final Year in High School.....	46
Table 20—Semi-Skilled Girls Classified by Religious Affiliation and Occupation of Father.....	46
Table 21—Distribution of Sample by Type of Industry.....	51
Table 22—Nature of Duties by Type of Industry.....	51
Table 23—Occupational Distribution of the Sample.....	52
Table 24—Length of Time Required to Find Full-Time Job.....	53
Table 25—Educational Background of Those who had Difficulty Finding Their First Full-Time Job.....	53
Table 26—Resultant Occupational Category of Those who had Difficulty Finding Their First Full-Time Job.....	54
Table 27—Respondent's Occupational-Class by Father's or Guardian's Occupational-Class.....	60
Table 28—Pattern of Employment by Sex.....	61
Table 29—Pattern of Employment by School Leaving Level.....	62
Table 30—Pattern of Employment by Occupations.....	62
Table 31—Employment Status of the 'Working' Sample.....	63
Table 32—Educational Background of the Unemployed in Paulend.....	63
Table 33—Occupational Background of the Unemployed in Paulend.....	63

ix

List Of Charts

	PAGE
Chart 1—Paulend High School Students Reaching Various Grades Before Leaving	21
Chart 2—Paulend High School Students Reaching Various Ages Before Leaving	21
Chart 3—Paulend High School Students Leaving School at Each Grade Passed	22
Chart 4—The Destination of Interviewed Subjects Who Reached Grade XIII (Locals and In-Migrants)	24
Chart 5—I.Q. Rating and Percentages of Persons in Each Rating	38
Chart 6—Boys and Girls in Paulend and Sources of Assistance in Finding First Job	54
Chart 7—Level of Schooling of Boys in Paulend and Sources of Assistance in Finding First Job	55
Chart 8—Occupational Categories of Boys in Paulend and Sources of Assistance in Finding First Job	55
Chart 9—Level of Schooling of Girls in Paulend and Sources of Assistance In Finding First Job	56
Chart 10—Occupational Categories of Girls in Paulend and Sources of Assistance in Finding First Job	56

INTRODUCTION

This report is, more properly speaking, a work paper arising out of collaboration on a problem which concerned the Canadian Department of Labour and which was explored by university staff and students who were interested in the sociology of the work world. The fact that the project was launched and reported during a summer vacation indicates how feasible such collaboration can be.

This is a study of an anonymous community. Consequently, it is not possible to record in detail the wealth of assistance provided by scores of helpful persons. Within the community we knocked on the doors of many busy people—in the school system, in industry and commerce, in government offices, and in homes. Beyond the community we turned to many people for advice, in the educational world and in related areas. The kindly help of all of these persons simplified a complicated task.

The report constitutes an initial exploration of a murky area—the margin between school and work. We have tried to view it from two perspectives, that of the teacher and student, and that of the employer and employee. If our presentation does less than justice to either perspective, it may still be useful in stimulating others to analyse in greater depth the kinds of facts here drawn together.

The study was undertaken in 1961 as an attempt to trace the experiences of young Canadians in Paulend—a typical Ontario community—as they pass through the High School System and enter the work world. The initial plan was simple. We selected a community within which we tried to contact the people born in 1940. We studied the school records of these twenty-one-year-olds, to find out when they left school and what level they achieved in school. We related these facts to whatever else we could discover about the backgrounds of the students, such as sex, father's occupation, religion, experience with guidance, etc.

Wherever possible, we traced these students into the work world to discover their sequences of jobs and periods of unemployment. We interviewed everyone who could be contacted, and secured supplementary information about them from employers and the National Employment Service.

Wherever students had left the community subsequent to their high school careers, we traced them, when it was possible, hoping to compare the work careers of the foot-loose types with those who remained at home. Similarly, we contacted, wherever possible, the twenty-one-year-olds who had migrated into Paulend after terminating school careers elsewhere.

From these raw materials we tried to answer several questions. Who gets where in the school system, and how? How are jobs found by new-

comers to the work world? How is school achievement linked to job opportunities and to income? Who faces unemployment? How effective is guidance in the school system? Who proceeds from high school to further education? Do boys and girls fare similarly in these matters?

Although the community chosen could not of course be 'typical' in an absolute sense, it possessed the following characteristics that were considered desirable for our study¹. It is relatively self-contained and large enough to represent modern industry, but it is not an industrial satellite of a large metropolis. It has had no recent serious changes in its population and has neither given nor received many migrants. It also has a well-established school system. In short, it is a relatively stable area for such a study.

In order to compare it with the great metropolitan communities, we selected a second sample—Croydon—a municipality possessing similar characteristics located within a large city. Here, we surveyed the school records to analyse school achievement and school drop-outs; we also noted the initial entrance of the students into the work world, in so far as this was possible from school records. There were no substantial differences in the two populations studied, so far as school patterns and initial moves into the work world were concerned. The data on the Croydon population are set out in Appendix II.

¹ Short of demanding typicality in the rigorous sense of an exhaustive comparative analysis of demographic structure, occupational composition of the local market, the structure of the school system, etc., the reader may fairly ask for answers to two general questions: did the employment situation in Paulend differ in any important way in the summer of 1961 when the authors visited the community from the situation in 1960 or 1959? and, did the employment situation in Paulend in the summer of 1961 differ in any important way from the situation of other communities of similar size and with comparable industrial and occupational composition?

A check on the figures available suggests that 1961 did not represent any sharp turning point in Paulend's employment and unemployment situation. Total employment in 1961 was just about the same as in 1960, down slightly from the 1959 volume of employment. As female employment remained virtually constant over the period, this modest decline in total employment is attributable to a reduction in the employment of males. Total unemployment approximated the 1960 level, but marked a noticeable increase over the lower level of unemployment enjoyed in 1959. Again this change was accounted for by a rise in unemployment among men, as unplaced female applicants remained at approximately the same level for the whole period. It should be added that there was a greater number of unfilled vacancies for women than for men from 1959 to 1961. In short, Paulend was continuing to experience a rather 'soft' labour demand situation characterized by a seasonal swing between moderate and substantial labour surplus.

Nor does a comparison between the employment and unemployment situation in Paulend with that in ten other 'major industrial areas' (labour force 25,000-75,000; 60 per cent or more in non-agricultural activity) for the period 1959 to 1961 reveal startling divergences. The total volume of employment for the ten areas selected remained virtually constant over the three-year period, while the level of unemployment, which proportionally approximated that experienced in Paulend in 1959, climbed during these years, but at a slower rate than in Paulend and constituted a somewhat lower proportion of those labour forces in the summer of 1961 than did the unemployed segment in the Paulend local labour market. In other words, the situation in Paulend in the summer of 1961 was 'softer' than that in many comparable communities, but this difference amounted to a few percentage points rather than marking a striking contrast.

In brief, these comparisons should not be interpreted as a confirmation of the 'typicality' of Paulend's local labour market situation at the time the study was carried out but simply suggest that there is no clear indication that the employment situation in this community was atypical to a degree that would seriously detract from the study's usefulness.

Chapter I provides a description of the community studied in terms of its geography and its population. Chapter II describes the sampled population, and introduces the various technical terms used for classifying the data of the tables. Chapters III, IV, and V respectively, trace the twenty-one-year olds through the high school systems of the community, through subsequent systems of training and education, and into the work world. As might be expected in such a project, the sample diminishes as time goes on. Not all of the persons who went beyond high school could be contacted, and further losses occurred between training and work. Such losses of data are inevitable; Canadians are foot-loose, they are under no compulsion to report their addresses, they migrate in search of jobs, they change their names for sundry reasons, they get locked up, and, in other ways, make life difficult for an enumerator. We managed to interview 434 of the 664 high school students. We also interviewed 38 of some 97 students who ended their education at the elementary level. And we also interviewed 55 people who had moved into the community in the recent past.

In reading what follows the reader should realize that this is not an exhaustive survey of a representative sample. It does, however reflect our efforts to penetrate as deeply as we could, in the time at our disposal, into the fringe between education and occupation.

CHAPTER I - THE COMMUNITY SETTING - PAULEND

Natural Areas

Paulend lies on the banks of a small river in gently rolling country near the Canadian-American border. There is a gradual rise in the land from south to north, marked by three crests which form the boundaries of natural areas. This rise is less marked along the banks of the river but is quite definite farther west. From south to north the first slope terminates at a major east-west highway. Above this lies a gently rising plateau comprising Centretown along the river and the areas known as Mechanicsville and Westhill farther west. Within this area is a second rise, which is the site of Elm Hill in Centretown, and which separates Westhill from Mechanicsville. North of Elm Hill and Westhill is a short drop followed by the third rise comprising the area of Irishtown. Above Irishtown the land levels out again to form the suburb known as Mortgage Hill. Across the river from Centretown is a residential area—Eastern Park, a sparsely populated section.

Land Use

Residential. Although many boundaries of the natural areas are geographical in nature it is the use to which the land is put that distinguishes one area from another. Paulend began as a small mill town, on the site of the present business district, using the river as a source of power. When railways came in they made connections to the north, the east, and the southwest with the heaviest traffic to the southwest. The result was that industries concentrated in this part of town, creating the area known as Mechanicsville. In Centretown the land that has the highest value appears to be Elm Hill, a very old district which has retained its high status as the city expanded beyond it, possibly because of valuable church property on it, both Protestant and Roman Catholic.

Surrounding Centretown there is a ring of secondary settlement, composed of four sections.

- (i) North of Elm Hill and the business districts is Irishtown, a mixture of middle and upper-working class areas, with houses built around the turn of the century.
- (ii) The middle and upper class area has spread west from Elm Hill towards a prominence known as Westhill.
- (iii) The southern part of Centretown itself was developed later than the business district and is composed of middle class homes of the early nineteen hundreds, except for the working class dwellings immediately adjacent to the railways.

(iv) Eastern Park is a middle class district of the same period.

Recent settlement consists of Mortgage Hill to the north, the crowning of Westhill by a new-rich class, and the occupation of the South End—during and shortly after the Second World War—by a middle class population. There has been little new building in Eastern Park.

Industrial. Most of the heavier industries are concentrated in the Mechanicsville area. This clustering of industry follows the railroad to the south end of the business section where there is a meat packing plant, and a feed mill. A spur line to the north end of the business section services a breakfast-food plant. Some of the cleanest industries, such as the weaving factory, have spread south and east from Mechanicsville into the south end, but do little to disturb the residential nature of the district. The five biggest employers each have work forces of more than three hundred workers. Many small industries are scattered through the business district, and gasoline stations and other automobile service stations are numerous. There is a scattering of small industry along the foot of the rise on which Irishtown is situated, and which clearly sets it apart from Elm Hill.

Education. Primary schools, both public and separate, are scattered across the city, within easy access of any area. A Roman Catholic primary school and secondary school system on Elm Hill, is within easy reach of Irishtown and Westhill, but it is less conveniently situated for students in the south end. Other secondary schools are the old collegiate and vocational school in Centretown, and a similar new school in the south end. A third collegiate and vocational school recently opened in Mortgage Hill. A teacher training college tops the ridge in Irishtown, and nursing training is available in the Roman Catholic hospital and in the Civic Hospital.

Religion. Churches of many denominations are represented, especially in Centretown. They are distributed as follows:

United Church	7	Christian Science	1
Anglican	6	Lutheran	1
Roman Catholic	6	Salvation Army	1
Gospel Churches	3	Synagogue	1
Baptist	2		

Apart from these there are several small, unlisted religious sects and a Jehovah's Witness Hall.

Population

The total population of Paulend in 1901 was slightly more than 10,000. Since then it has constantly increased, doubling by 1931 and again doubling since then. At present it is estimated at something over 45,000. In 1951 there were 18,000 males and 20,000 females, a total of 38,000. The age group 10-14 comprised 2,500 individuals (6.6 per cent of the population). Our present sample would be part of this latter group.

The ethnic composition in 1951 was: British origin—86 per cent, French origin—11.0 per cent, others—3 per cent.

The religious composition at that time was:

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
United Church	35
Roman Catholic	24
Anglican	22
Presbyterian	7
Baptist	5
Salvation Army	2
Other	5

The present day population is predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. Although one might expect to find a considerable French-Canadian population in such an area, there are no specifically French-Canadian religious or educational institutions in the community. Moreover, with the exception of a few people of Dutch origin, post-war European immigrants have made almost no mark on this community.

The School System

The main concern of the study is with people born in 1940 who have passed through the secondary school system. Until 1947 there were only two schools available—the Roman Catholic which was entirely academic, and the old collegiate which had been expanded to include technical, commercial and home economics courses. In 1952 the new South End school was built, offering vocational as well as academic courses. One grade was added each year, involving transfers from one school to another in a number of cases. There has been some demand for vocational courses in the Roman Catholic schools, which sometimes resulted in transfers of students to the older vocational school.

Each school has maintained thorough records on each student for a considerable number of years. The student records kept by the schools in the public system are very comprehensive and the newer the school the more likely they are to be extremely elaborate.¹ These records tend to be under the control of a guidance officer rather than under the principal as is the case in the separate school. Those kept by the principal are much more concise although not necessarily less informative. Generally, in addition to the standard information on academic standing, teachers' assessment and family background, such items as extra curricular activities, occupational ambitions, and results of intelligence and aptitude tests are included.

¹ In the public school system, record keeping seems to have become an end in itself to the extent that at one school a new record sheet is added to the dossier of each pupil each year.

Guidance at the Roman Catholic school is limited to an intelligence test, an annual 'occupations' night, and the opportunity for a student to consult a teacher or the principal about course or career problems. At the other schools guidance varies with the course followed. In the academic course there is a formal instruction period of approximately one hour a week in the first year, an aptitude test in Grade XII, and a compulsory interview for every student with the guidance officer, usually limited to a discussion of his progress in school and his ambitions.

In the vocational courses the students have already narrowed their occupational choices. Vocational guidance becomes a matter of helping to choose a specific job. The vocational teachers have connections with various employers in town and send students to them. Examinations in vocational courses are given in early spring, and those students with highest marks are given the first choice of positions. Once placed in a job they are presented with their graduation certificates. Those who remain in school are given a further examination later in the year and continue to be placed according to achievement.

CHAPTER II - THE POPULATION SELECTED FOR ANALYSIS

The Universe Selected

Our initial intention was to locate and interview every person living in Paulend who was born in 1940, and to discover the facts regarding his schooling and work experiences. Upon investigating the academic records of the local elementary and high schools, we noted that a number of persons residing outside the city limits had commuted to city high schools from the nearby areas. It was decided to expand the study to include all who had attended Paulend schools.

We found that some of these high school and elementary school students had since taken up residence and entered employment elsewhere. This group was retained in our study and labelled 'emigrant'.

To complete our roster of names we searched the National Employment Service files and inquired at local industry for the names of employees born in 1940. We found a number of people who were born, raised and schooled elsewhere, but had since moved into the community for employment. These persons were included in the study and termed 'in-migrant'.

Thus our universe comprises three sub-groups. The local group was born, schooled, and presently resides in Paulend or in the immediately surrounding area. The emigrant group was born, and at least partially schooled, in Paulend, and has since moved to other areas. The in-migrant population was born and schooled elsewhere, but was residing in Paulend at the time of the study.

The Sampled Population

The above was our theoretical universe, but, for a number of reasons, not all of these persons could be located or contacted. The Sampled Population comprised all students born in 1940 who had attended a local high school between 1954 and 1961. Among these were a number of emigrants leaving Paulend after completion of high school. We were able also to locate and contact some of the persons who left school before reaching Grade IX. A number of in-migrants to the city were also located and included in the Sampled Population.

Size of the Sample. The total sample comprised 399 girls and 417 boys, a total of 816 persons.

Social Class. Within the sample, we attempted to differentiate students on the basis of social class. The subjects were categorized on the basis of fathers' or guardians' occupations. These were broadly classified as 'manual' and

'non-manual'. 'Manual' signified that the parent or guardian worked with *things*, as opposed to dealing with *persons*, *ideas* or *symbols*. Mechanics, bricklayers, factory workers, etc., as well as their immediate foremen or supervisors, were classified as 'manual' workers. Bank clerks, professionals, office workers, etc., were classified as 'non-manual' workers. The sample included 187 persons with fathers or guardians in 'non-manual' occupations, and 629 persons with fathers or guardians in 'manual' occupations.

Sources of Data. Information, in terms of the students' names, academic backgrounds and present whereabouts, was obtained from various school functionaries, including the Superintendent of Secondary Education, the school principals, the Co-ordinator of Guidance Services, guidance counsellors, and individual teachers. Most important, however, were the academic records obtained directly from the schools.

Among other things those records indicate the sex of the student, and the type of course followed. They also indicate the student's achievement, i.e., the grades passed or failed in the school system and the years spent in each. In most cases the I.Q. rating of the student is presented. In many cases there were useful comments by teachers and guidance counsellors on the record documents. Moreover, in many instances, the initial job placement in the work world was recorded, both as to the occupation and industry. This was useful as a clue to locating the student's present whereabouts.

Some records of students who left school before completing elementary school were uncovered, and were explored as a further source of names of the cohort born in 1940.

The 'live' and 'dead' files of the local National Employment Service Office were searched for the names of applicants born in 1940, and these persons were traced as far as possible.

The principal source of names of the in-migrant population was industry itself. The company heads and personnel department heads were contacted and asked for names of persons in their employ born in 1940.

The Interviewed Sample. Within the scope of the sample, as many persons as possible were contacted and interviewed personally. The others, whom we could trace but could not contact personally, received mailed questionnaires. The total from whom detailed personal information was received, was 527 persons, of whom 408 were interviewed personally, and 119 returned questionnaires. (The term 'interviewed' will refer henceforth to both those who were interviewed personally and those who returned questionnaires by mail.)

The Interviewed Sample consisted of 253 males and 274 females. Of these 527 people, 119 were Roman Catholic, 405 were Protestant, and 3 were Jewish. There were 402 with fathers or guardians in manual occupations, and 125 with fathers or guardians in non-manual. In high school, 293 were enrolled in the academic course, 194 were in the vocational courses (industrial, commercial and home economics). Forty did not enter high school.

The Interviewed Sample was divided into nine categories on the basis of their present occupations. *Professionals* included nurses, teachers, chartered accountants and those in training for these occupations. *University* indicated a student's attendance there during the 1960-61 term, while *other education* referred to present attendance at a business college, Ryerson Institute, or the like. A few were still in *High School*. *White Collar* included office workers of all types, bank clerks, and retail sales clerks.¹ Telephone operators were included under this heading.

Skilled Trades included those occupations where a period of 'on-the-job' training, generally in the form of an apprenticeship, is required for admittance. Mechanics and plumbers for the males, and hairdressers for the females, are the most common occupations under this heading, which includes both the skilled tradesmen and those still in training. *Unskilled Manual* occupations are those requiring a minimum of skill, such as tending a service station, simple manual factory work, and casual labour. *Semi-skil'ed* workers are the intermediate group including truck drivers, the lower ranks of the armed forces, and those doing technical tasks in industry requiring some training, but not amounting to an apprenticeship. Finally, a number were *Unemployed*; and a number (41) of the married girls not working for pay have been classified as *Housewives*.

The sample was also categorized by the type of industry in which the subjects worked. Large industry included (i) '*The Big Five*' which included those industries with over 300 employees (ii) *Other Big Industry* included firms wherein 100-300 persons were employed and (iii) the *Small Industry* category establishments employing fewer than 100. *Construction* workers were those in house building, road construction, etc. *Transportation* comprised the railroads and cartage companies. Wholesale and retail selling were listed under *Trade*; *Communication* comprised telephone workers and others (news-papers, post office employees, etc.). *Finance* comprised workers in banks, insurance, and loan companies, etc. *Public Service* included the armed forces, nurses, teacher, government employees, hospital workers, police and fire department workers. *Personal Service* included hairdressers, barbers, etc., and also persons working on a customer's personal property at his specific request, such as garage mechanics, plasterers, and plumbers.²

Professional Service included those working under professionals in various capacities, such as doctors' secretaries, surveyors' assistants, etc. *Agriculture* included farm workers. Under *In Training* were listed future nurses and teachers who were still studying, and students still in high school. Those persons presently unemployed were listed under their previous jobs, except for housewives (unless otherwise noted) and those who had never had fulltime work since leaving school.

¹ No girls in this sample were found to be retail sales clerks so that, as far as girls are concerned, *White Collar* means clerical except for telephone operators.

² For use of the category *personal service* in this sense, see Erving Goffman, 'Medical Model and Mental Hospitalization' in *Asylums* (Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1961) pp. 324-329.

The Uninterviewed Group. In addition to those in the Interviewed Sample, some information was gathered for the remainder of the Sampled Population. Thirty-two persons (all males) were in the Armed Services; of these, 30 had attended high school.

Information gathered from the school records only, was available concerning those who had attended high school but could not be located. There were 98 such people, consisting of 50 males and 48 females. Of these, 40 had attended during Grade IX only, 20 during Grade X, 12 during Grade XI, 15 during Grade XII, and 11 during grade XIII. Thirteen had attended the Roman Catholic private school, 37 and 48 having attended the two composite schools respectively.

The names of 50 public school students who could not be contacted are included in the Sampled Population. This group consisted of 25 males and 25 females, for whom family data only were available for 31, and I.Q. scores for 41.

Of the 228 questionnaires mailed, 109 were not returned, these having been sent to 57 males and 52 females. Thus, the total Uninterviewed Group consisted of 289 persons, of whom 32 were known to be in the Armed Services. The major categories of the study are as follows:

The Universe—all those born in 1940 residing in Paulend, plus those born elsewhere in 1940 but residing in Paulend at the time of the study—June-July, 1961.

The Sampled Population—

High School Students	664
Elementary School Students	97
In-migrants	55
<hr/>	
Total	816

The Interviewed Population—

<i>Parents' or Guardians' Occupations</i>		<i>Mobility Status</i>	<i>Religious Affiliation</i>
		Local	Protestant
Non-Manual	125	In-migrants	Roman Catholic
Manual	402	Emigrants	Jewish
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	527	Total	Total

The Non-interviewed Population—

<i>Education</i>	<i>Work Status</i>
High School	Armed Services
Elementary School	Other
<hr/>	
Total	Total

CHAPTER III - SORTING AND SIFTING IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

This chapter traces the experiences of the student body through the school system. The purpose of the analysis is to note the characteristics of the students who drop out of high school during each of the five years of the high school program.

By no means all of the people entering public school continue on to high school. It is not feasible to determine exactly how many of the persons born in our target year have moved away in the early stages of their school careers. Furthermore, the number of seriously retarded children who probably never enter school are unascertainable. Some of the latter will, however, show up in the labour force presumably in relatively simple jobs.

Before discussing the progress of the high school contingent through that system, a word should be said about the nature of the high school programs. These programs are highly differentiated. First, there is a major distinction between the programs for students pursuing the traditional academic path and those for students who are routed into vocational courses. Second, in general, the academic course is identical for boys and girls, whereas the vocational courses are differentiated to prepare students for jobs that are characteristically masculine or feminine. These distinctions of type of course and of sex are so significant that they warrant separate headings in the tables presented in the analysis. Third, programs are tailored to fit the abilities of various classes of students. Some of the high school programs can be completed in two years, some in four years, whereas the academic course extends to five years. In a sense the two-year programs are contrived in such a way that the student will complete the course by the school leaving age. Those who wish to leave the program at that time are free to do so. Those who wish to proceed further may do so, but are required to repeat one year before proceeding to a more demanding program. It is not easy, by scanning his records, to fit a student into one or another of these programs in unambiguous fashion; hence it is not feasible to incorporate the third distinction into the analysis.

Nevertheless, it is very clear that the high schools under discussion are dealing with the full range of youngsters, with those at one extreme who are

competent to advance to graduate work in the university and, at the other extreme, with those demonstrably incapable of handling elementary school work, but who, for social reasons, have been admitted to the high school system. In brief, one can say that the high schools are attempting three functions—a teaching function, a training function, and a custodial function.

The existence of these differences in student capacity and motivation, and the emergence of these differentiated programs of study make it necessary for teaching staffs to sort the students into appropriate streams. This involves not only a consideration of their performance records but also the administering of intelligence tests to place students appropriately. Although there are many reservations to be kept in mind in the interpretation of the scores of such tests, they are very widely used; we have incorporated them into our analysis of the student group.

We have classified the students into four categories according to intelligence tests. Category A comprises those students who seem equipped to handle university work readily. Category B comprises those equipped to handle high school work readily, but who might have difficulty at university. Category C is a large group of average students who may have difficulty handling high school work. Category D comprises those students who are likely to have serious difficulty in handling high school work.

In a preliminary assessment of the data on schooling, it became evident that the academic achievement of the student seems to be related to the social background of the family. Families of white collar fathers seemed to do better in school than those from manual workers' homes. Moreover, those from white collar families rated consistently higher on intelligence tests than did the others. In the analysis we have maintained a distinction between children coming from homes of manual workers and those whose fathers or guardians are in various sorts of white-collar occupations. The latter we have combined under the heading of 'non-manual' occupations.

School System

The Pattern of School Leaving

Table 1 presents information concerning 664 students who passed through the high school system of the community. The table indicates the numbers leaving the system at the various years. They are classified by sex, by intelligence level, by grade, by type of course undertaken, and by occupation of father.

Table 2 compares the percentages of students remaining in each of the high school grades of Paulend with the same percentages for all students in the province of Ontario.

TABLE I

Population Passing Through Paulend High Schools Classified According to Gender, I.Q., Type of Course,
Occupation of Father or Guardian, and Highest Grade Reached in School¹

Occupation of Father	Type of Course	Gender	Grade IX					Grade X					Grade XI					Grade XII					Grade XIII					Special Commercial					Total
			I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					
			A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	
Non-Manual	Academic	M	2	1	1	2	2	1	-	2	-	4	1	1	3	-	2	1	2	4	-	4	7	9	8	2	6						65
		F	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	1	1	4	-	2	5	-	-	1	4	4	2	-	7	3	13	1	1					56	
	Vocational	M						-	1	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	2	3						1	-	-	1	-	20
		F						-	-	1	-	1	-	1	4	-	-	2	1	2	-	-						1	2	3	-	-	18
Manual	Academic	M	1	1	13	13	29	1	1	2	-	9	-	1	5	3	5	2	6	8	5	3	9	9	25	1	4						156
		F	1	2	18	18	14	-	3	7	2	13	-	1	13	2	2	1	5	19	5	2	7	6	10	3	2						156
	Vocational	M						1	2	19	10	2	1	-	13	7	2	2	6	22	8	5						-	1	3	-	1	105
		F						1	4	18	16	2	1	1	11	-	1	3	5	10	3	2						-	2	7	1	-	88

¹The I.Q. for those students listed under ? did not appear on their records. This reference applies to all subsequent tables wherein I.Q.s. appear. See Appendix II.

What little difference there is between the population of our area and the total population of the province, so far as progress through the high school system is concerned, is in favour of our community—the schools do better than average for the province. Moreover, the proportion of students dropping out at each level has been remarkably consistent over the years for subsequent groups of students in Paulend. This does not imply that our area would be identical with the large metropolitan communities of the province; these, in turn, may be very different indeed from the smaller and remoter areas. However, the congruence of our sample with the total for the province allows us to place considerable confidence in further comparisons.

Approximately 20 per cent of the student body survives until Grade XIII. In a later section the students who have completed Grade XIII will be considered further, in order to see how many continue their education, and into what occupations the others move. Twenty-seven per cent leave at Grade XII. Approximately 40 per cent of the students do not proceed beyond Grade X (the figures in Table 1 refer to the students who *reached* the grade in question—a smaller number in each case *passed* the year successfully). As noted previously, some part of the 40 per cent have concluded a two-year course of study successfully. However, it is not possible to distinguish between those who left under those circumstances and those who dropped out of some other type of ongoing program.

TABLE 2

Percentage of High School Students in Each of the Grades; Paulend and Province of Ontario¹

Locality	High School Grade				
	Gr. IX	Gr. X	Gr. XI	Gr. XII	Gr. XIII
Province of Ontario.....	100	81	53	44	19
Paulend.....	100	80	60	47	20

¹ Student Progress Through the Schools. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Education Division, 1960.

School Leaving and I.Q. Test Scores

A glance at the distribution of those dropping out in Grade IX and X indicates that they fall at the lower end of the scale as far as their intelligence tests are concerned. Table 3 condenses these items of information from Table 1.

TABLE 3

Students Leaving High School Classified by Grades Reached and I.Q. Ratings

I.Q. Rating	Grade Achieved						Total
	Gr. IX	Gr. X	Gr. XI	Gr. XII	Gr. XIII	Spec. Commercial	
A.....	5	4	3	12	30	2	56
B.....	4	12	7	30	27	5	85
C.....	36	56	55	73	56	13	289
D.....	34	29	12	25	7	2	109
Unknown.....	45	35	12	19	13	1	125
Totals.....	124	136	89	159	133	23	664

Of those dropping out in Grades IX and X, 25 (or 10 per cent) are reported to have I.Q.'s in the A or B category. Those in the D category total 63 (approximately 25 per cent). By contrast, of those reaching Grades XII and XIII, 106 (over 35 per cent) are in the A and B categories, while only 34 (12 per cent) are in the D category. Turning to the students with A and B scores, one notes that approximately 75 per cent of these are progressing to either junior or senior matriculation. An inspection of those in D category indicates that of this unpromising group, approximately 30 per cent still manage to reach the matriculation stage.

From the above discussion, it would appear that the intelligence test in this case was by no means an infallible indicator of probable school achievement. At the one end of the scale almost one third of the students with high scores fail to reach matriculation level; at the other end, approximately 30 per cent of those ranking lowest on these tests managed to reach the matriculation level, and 6 per cent reached senior matriculation.

The great bulk of the students in the table, more than half of those for whom I.Q.'s are available, fall in the C category—those of average intelligence. Their distribution through the grades is highly uniform; indeed, except for a deficiency in Grade IX and an excess in Grade XII, there are almost identical proportions dropping out in each grade of the system. For these 'average' students, it would appear that the intelligence test, as an indicator, tells almost nothing about what is likely to happen to the student in the school system. His achievement is random with respect to his I.Q. It is well to recall, however, that the progress of the student through the system is only in part dependent on his intellectual endowment; it depends in part on the student's interest, the program presented by the school, and the perseverance of the family, plus an assortment of contingencies having to do with health, finances, and sundry other matters. These items, while significant, cannot be presented with the numerical clarity of I.Q. scores.

Social Class and School Leaving

It is widely assumed that students leave school prematurely because of family finances. We were not able to obtain information on family income. We did, however, classify families in terms of father's occupations in order to compare students coming from homes of manual workers with those coming from homes of non-manual workers.

Approximately three quarters of the school population come from homes of manual workers—505 out of 664. The distribution by year of leaving school and by social class of family is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
Students Leaving Paulend High Schools Classified by Grade Achieved
and Father's Occupation

	Grade Achieved						Total
	Gr. IX	Gr. X	Gr. XI	Gr. XII	Gr. XIII	Spec. Commercial	
Non-manual.....	14 9%	23 15%	20 13%	37 23%	57 35%	8 5%	159 100%
Manual.....	110 22%	113 22%	69 14%	122 24%	76 15%	15 3%	505 100%

Of those quitting school at Grades IX and X, 223 came from the homes of manual workers, and 37 from the homes of non-manual workers. At the other end of the scale, of those surviving to Grade XIII, 76 came from the homes of manual workers and 57 from the homes of non-manual workers. Viewed as percentages, approximately 35 per cent of the children from the latter type of home reach senior matriculation, but only 15 per cent of those from the homes of manual workers reach that level.

Further inspection of the data of Table 1 indicate that there are significant differences in intelligence test scores as between the two occupational classes. It seems clear that family background is a determinant of school performance. Children from homes of non-manual workers score higher on I.Q. tests than do those from homes of manual workers. In all likelihood, this is partly because of home influences and, perhaps, in part, because the tests are based largely on the skills used in such homes.

If the school system segregates these categories at an early stage of high school, the achievement of the disadvantaged student may be lowered further. Data from the Croydon sample, a set of schools in a large metropolitan community, indicate that when the groups are segregated into distinctive schools (by industrial areas) the achievement level of the manual

worker group drops somewhat. Thus, although in Paulend the chances of a boy from a manual worker's home reaching senior matriculation are less than half those for a boy from a non-manual home, in the Croydon sample the chances are reduced to one in three.

The raw materials of Table 1 permit us to examine the relationship between parent's occupation and choice of course in school. Earlier, it was indicated that, of the students reaching Grade XIII, there was a much higher representation from homes of non-manual workers. The fates of the two groups are indicated in Table 5; in this table only students from schools offering both vocational and academic courses are included.

TABLE 5

Students from Public High Schools Classified by Father's Occupation
and General Level of Achievement

Father's Occupation	General Level of Achievement				
	Gr. IX Drop-out	Vocational X—XII	Academic X—XII	Gr. XIII	Total
Non-manual.....	12 8%	38 27%	38 27%	54 38%	142 100%
Manual.....	78 20%	183 47%	69 18%	56 14%	386 99%

The patterns for the two groups vary markedly. Families of non-manual workers direct their children largely into the academic courses; only 27 per cent choose the vocational courses. Few of these children drop out in the first year. Thirty-eight per cent of them go on to senior matriculation. For the other group the converse is true. One in five drops out in the first year. Almost one half are enrolled in the vocational course, a smaller proportion enter the academic course, and relatively few manage to reach senior matriculation, in this case 14 per cent.

In conclusion, it seems clear that, in general, students from homes of manual workers fare badly in high school work. Most of those who survive are in the vocational courses. Those who continue along an academic path have less than an even chance of reaching senior matriculation. These students are part of a web made up of low I.Q.'s, mediocre achievement in school, vocational courses, and lower-status occupations. There is a high probability that the connections between these four are viewed in a distinctive way by middle class students and parents. Vocational courses in their eyes are primarily and fundamentally the place for students of mediocre ability, poor study habits, and working class parentage and aspirations. There is evidence

of this in the fact that students of limited potentialities from middle class homes persevere in the academic course even after the rebuff of failing several times along the way.

Sex and School Leaving

Before terminating the discussion of school leaving, it is instructive to look at the experiences of boys as against those of girls. From Table 1 we can derive the data for Table 6.

TABLE 6

Students Leaving High School Classified by Grades Reached and Sex

Gender	Grade Achieved						Total
	Gr. IX	Gr. X	Gr. XI	Gr. XII	Gr. XIII	Spec. Commercial	
Male.....	65	61	45	88	80	7	346
Female.....	59	75	44	71	53	16	318

Of the 664 students found in the high school system, there were 346 boys and 318 girls. There are only modest variations in the proportions who leave school at the various grades. There is a tendency for more girls than boys to leave in Grade X and for more boys than girls to survive through Grade XIII.¹ The only obvious difference is the concentration of boys in the senior matriculation program, though even here the notable feature is the high proportion of girls continuing to this level. On inspection, it appears that the main difference is at the class level. Girls from non-manual homes appear in Grade XIII in approximately the same proportions as do boys. As for children of manual workers, the proportion of girls going on to senior matriculation drops markedly.

Age and School Leaving

So far, the discussion has been confined to the progress of students seen in terms of the highest grade reached. There are, however, substantial differences in the age at which students reach the various grades of high school. Some have successfully completed the final grade by age seventeen; others still persevere *after* they have passed their twenty-first birthdays.

We have no means of estimating the consequences of remaining in the position of a schoolboy into the third decade of a person's life, although the

¹ These findings correspond to those for our metropolitan sample, but the differences there between the sexes are still more modest.

problem deserves consideration. Nor is this the place to discuss the consequences for the school that is saddled with the tasks of providing custodial care for people who are officially adults.

We can, from our data, state at what ages our population leaves school, and note the variations between segments of our population. The most notable fact is that boys are remaining in school far longer than are the girls. Indeed, since some are of voting age it is doubtful if they should be termed 'boys'. The comparisons are presented pictorially in Charts 1 and 2. Two striking facts emerge:

- (a) the greater proportions of boys remaining in the various grades, and
- (b) the older ages of boys when they leave the high school system.

Chart 1 indicates that the boys tend to continue longer in the school system at consistently higher levels than do the girls. At each of the three higher grades boys exceed girls by approximately 5 per cent, e.g., of 100 of each sex starting Grade IX there are 25 boys reaching Grade XIII as compared to 20 girls. The same differentials appear at Grades XI and XII; at Grade X the sexes are about equal.

These statements are complicated by the fact that students who leave school may do so in the wake of failing or passing; those in a given grade may have reached it by repeating a previous grade, or by passing successfully the preceding year. To some degree, this can be determined by noting the *ages*, as opposed to the *grades*, at which students leave school. But we would need to know, too, how close are the ages of boys and girls on entering high school. This is much less easy to determine than one might expect.

The variations in school leaving by age are reflected in Chart 2. The differentials are striking and progressive as one moves up in the age structure. At ages eighteen and nineteen, there are *twice* as many boys as girls remaining in high school; at age twenty there are *four* times as many, and at age twenty-one, where the numbers are very small, *ten* times as many. Since these age differentials are steeper than the grade differentials it seems, that within each grade, the boys are older than the girls.

The greater proportion of boys remaining at school to a later age seems to be mainly a consequence of failing their examinations. Our data are not sufficiently precise to allow us to distinguish those dropping out at some point in the year from those who tried and failed examinations at the end of the year. In our analysis, both are classified as 'failed'. The data are presented in Chart 3. It is clear that the girls pass Grade XIII successfully on the first attempt to a much greater degree than do the boys. A large proportion, 77 per cent, fall in this category, contrasted with only 61 per cent of the boys. Supplementary analysis indicates that, among boys, the proportion requiring more than five years in high school is substantially higher than for the girls; of the latter, none have spent more than six years on high school work, whereas some boys are found in this category.

CHART 1 - PAULEND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
REACHING VARIOUS GRADES BEFORE LEAVING



CHART 2 - PAULEND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
REACHING VARIOUS AGES BEFORE LEAVING

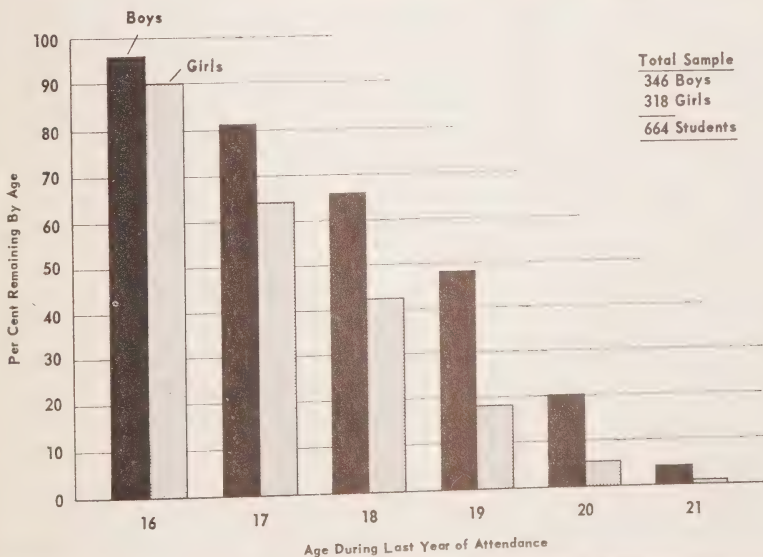
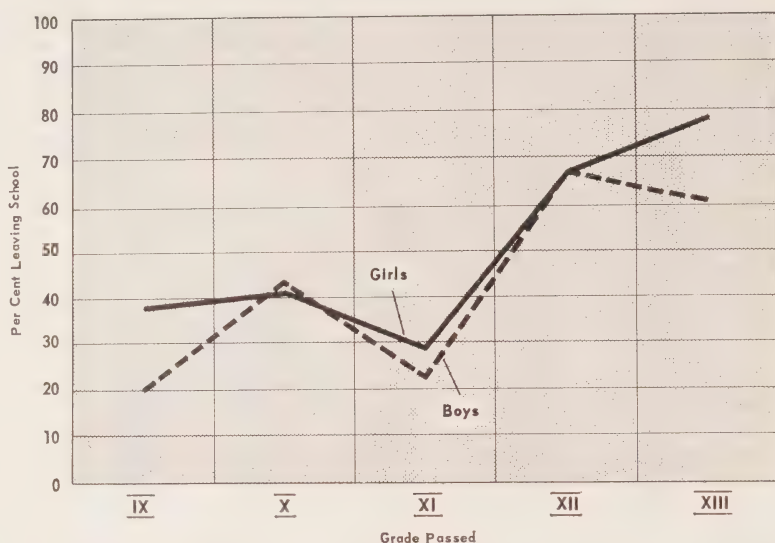


CHART 3 - PAULEND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
LEAVING SCHOOL AT EACH GRADE PASSED



It may be thought that the poorer showing for the boys reflects the fact that more boys continue in high school, whether measured by years or by grades. The number of boys in one sample surviving to Grade XIII is 80 and the number of girls is 53. Part of the difference is due to the fact that boys outnumbered girls in the cohort born in 1940 as found in our high school sample. However, when the experiences of the students in the earlier grades are considered, it is clear that the differences between boys and girls are consistent throughout high school as is shown by Chart 3. The differences are most marked at Grades IX and XIII; but, equally impressive, is the high proportion of students who fail to complete the year successfully. For the boys, of those dropping out at Grades IX and XI, four out of five were ineligible to carry on into the next higher grades. Girls are more successful at passing than are boys.

If we restrict our attention to those students following only the academic course, the achievement of the boys drops still lower. For them, the passing rate, in Grade IX and X combined, drops below 25 per cent. For the girls the combined figure is above 40 per cent. It would appear, therefore, that the boys who move into the vocational courses have a greater chance of succeeding in Grade X.

In a strictly vocational school, however, the greater achievement of the girls stands out clearly. Table 7 presents the data on 353 students in a selected metropolitan vocational school classified by sex and achievement. (Appendix II).

TABLE 7

Students in Croydon Vocational School Classified by Sex, Grade at Leaving School, and Success or Failure in the Grade

Performance	Grade Achieved								
	IX		X		XI		XII		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Passed.....	8	22	18	25	4	8	34	38	157
Failed.....	64	41	32	16	22	7	7	7	196
Total.....	72	63	50	41	26	15	41	45	353

The sexes are approximately equal in number. The actual numbers reaching final year are close, with a few more girls than might be expected. The radical differences concern the drop-outs in the earlier years. More boys drop out each year, as expected, but boys drop out as failures, whereas girls, who drop out in many cases, handled the work successfully. Thus, of those dropping out during the first three years of vocational school, among 148 boys 30 had passed in their courses; of 119 girls 55 had passed. In other words, about half the girls pass their courses; over three fourths of the boys fail theirs. The Paulend data do not lend themselves to such detailed analysis, but seem to display similar patterns.

Senior Matriculation

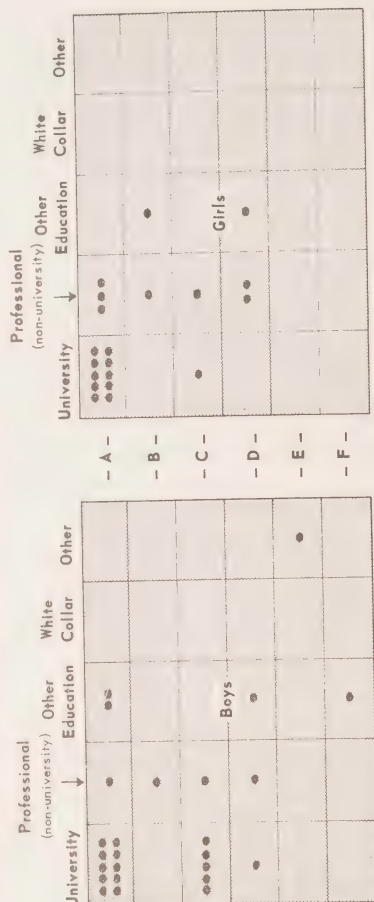
Some comments are necessary on the group of students who entered Grade XIII. We managed to interview 85 per cent of these. Chart 4 is a scattergram depicting their academic careers and their post matriculation status, i.e., have they gone to university, continued in other education, entered a profession or other white-collar job, or taken some other route.

They are classified by sex, occupation of father, present work status, and achievement in high school. The latter is a six-fold distribution, reflecting the fact that these students spend five, six or seven years in high school, and that, on reaching senior matriculation, they may pass or fail Grade XIII examinations. We have not distinguished the six- and seven-year students on the basis of which of the five grades they have failed. All the seven-year students, five in number, were boys.

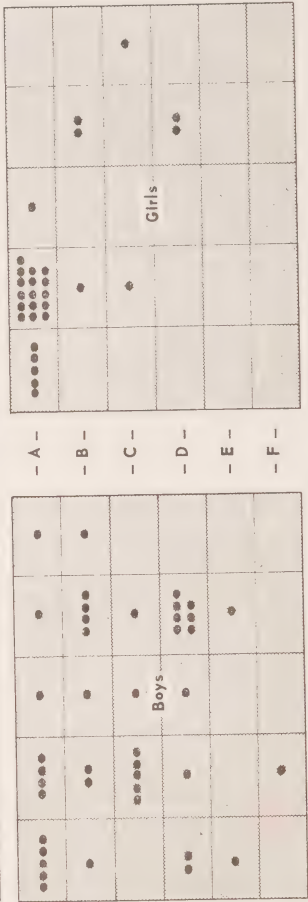
Several features of the chart stand out clearly. The girls are concentrated in the upper section. They handle Grade XIII competently. Thirty-five out of 49 have managed it on the first attempt—approximately 70 per cent. On the other hand, 25 boys out of a total of 77 (less than one third) fall in this category. Girls succeed in a ratio of 2:1 in competition with boys in Grade XIII, in spite of (or perhaps because of) their younger ages.

CHART 4 - THE DESTINATION OF INTERVIEWED SUBJECTS WHO REACHED GRADE XIII (Locals and In-Migrants)

1. FATHERS/GUARDIANS
IN NON-MANUAL OCCUPATIONS



2. FATHERS/GUARDIANS
IN MANUAL OCCUPATIONS



KEY: ➡ 5 years High School Grade XIII < Passed - A - Failed - B -
 6 years High School Grade XIII < Passed - C - Failed - D -
 7 years High School Grade XIII < Passed - E - Failed - F -

Among the girls, it is clear that a university career is a goal mainly for those from non-manual homes. The others are more likely to aim for nursing or teaching. Both types of families send their sons to university, though the proportion from homes of manual parents is markedly lower. On the other hand, in non-manual homes, university study is far more frequently accepted as the next stage for the boy.

Matriculants from manual homes go directly into white-collar jobs—boys more often than girls. No children from non-manual homes take this path.

Although none of the girls have spent seven years in high school, five boys fall into this category. Clearly, girls have much greater probabilities of succeeding in high school than have boys. On the other hand, the probability of hanging on in education is largely limited to children of parents in non-manual occupations. In Paulend the youngster from such a home has one chance in three of reaching senior matriculation, and one in six of getting to university. His contemporary, from the home of a manual worker, has one chance in seven of reaching senior matriculation and one in 35 of attending university.

Conclusion

This section has attempted to record the progress of the children of a given year as they pass through the high school system. Functionally, the school system is a device for sorting the talented of each generation and directing them into work suited to their talents.

Sophisticated observers have long suspected that the schools fail in many ways to achieve these objectives. They have suspected the means used for testing intelligence, and have assumed that middle-class children are more likely to remain in school than are working class children.

The results of this study confirm these assumptions. The intelligence measures used are poor predictors of either academic persistence or academic achievement. Children from homes of manual workers drop out of the system in much higher proportions than one would expect statistically. Moreover, the school system seems geared to the requirements of girls; boys fare badly in it—in all years and in both the academic and vocational courses. And, perhaps unwittingly, the high school has become an institution for near-adults rather than for juveniles only.

CHAPTER IV - FURTHER TRAINING

In order to equip themselves for the work world many members of the sample continued their education or training after leaving high school—many, of course, were somewhat prepared by having followed the vocational program at school. The types of further education and training pursued, range from university degree courses to six-month courses at privately operated business colleges, and from three-year professional training courses in the hospitals leading to Registered Nurse's status, to short term on-the-job training courses for machine operators in industry.

In this chapter, the respondents' transition from school to work is viewed in terms of the nature of the further education or training which they have received or were pursuing at the time of the inquiry. The chapter has been divided into five sections which, with one exception (the university section), are based upon the nature of the occupations for which the training and education should equip them. (The eventual occupational destination of the university cohort is difficult to assess. To some, the acquisition of a first degree may mark the terminal point in their formal education and their means of entry into a wide range of elite occupations; to others, it may act as a ticket of entry into a professional school or into a graduate studies program.) These five sections are: the Professions; the University; White Collar Work; Skilled Trades; and, Semi-skilled Occupations.

The Professions

While in theory none of the professions in our society are closed to either boys or girls, in actual fact some professions do become known as either female occupations or male occupations; for example, Nursing and Chartered Accountancy. In this study, each of these fields lived up to the general stereotype, no male was found among the 27 respondents training to be nurses, nor was any female included among the seven chartered accountancy students. The teaching profession, on the other hand, attracted members of both sexes.

Nursing. Nursing is a popular profession among the girls in Paulend and 27 of the 274 girls interviewed, i.e., 10 per cent, entered the profession, one third of whom were still in training at the time of the survey.

There are two hospitals in Paulend, a Roman Catholic one and a larger Civic Hospital, each of which has a school of nursing. The courses at the hospitals are taught by local physicians and the nursing teaching staff. In addition to this, nurses in training at the Civic spent part of their training time at hospitals in Toronto and Kingston, where they are sent for training in pediatric and psychiatric nursing. In spite of the fact that Paulend has training

facilities, some girls prefer to leave town and to train in one of the larger centres of Ontario (seven of the 27 in the sample did so). The rest were equally divided, 10 each, between the Civic and the Roman Catholic hospitals.

After successfully completing Grade XII, girls are eligible to enter the three-year course leading to the Registered Nurse's Certificate. Nowadays, most applicants will have gone through the academic course, but home economics with a chemistry option used to be the more common form of preparation in Paulend. It was still accepted at the time when those in our sample began their training. In addition to the academic requirements, the Civic Hospital authorities administer their own battery of tests to gauge, among other things, the applicant's I.Q. and aptitude for the nursing profession.

Although only Grade XII is required for entrance into the nursing course, 10 of the girls who entered nursing went beyond this minimum level, seven of whom obtained their senior matriculation (Table 8), two of the seven making it on their second attempt. Fourteen of the 17 junior matriculants passed Grade XII in the first attempt, only three having to repeat. In general, compared to the total high school sample in this study the nursing students are substantially above the average in academic attainment; their I.Q. scores, too, reflect the fact that nursing in Paulend attracts superior students.

Eighteen of the 27 nurses were working on full salary, that is, had completed their training, as of September 1961, although some of them had reached this status two or three years before. Of the nine girls still in training at survey time, most had gone on to Grade XIII.

TABLE 8

High School Achievement of Student Nurses in Final Year at School

	Passed 1st Attempt	Passed 2nd Attempt	Failed Grade	Totals
Grade XII.....	14	3	—	17
Grade XIII.....	5	2	3	10
Total.....	19	5	3	27

The nurses in the sample have a wide range of social origins, from the eminent physician's daughter to the daughter of a labourer. As shown in Table 9, more come from the families of manual workers than from non-manual workers' families, although religion, which determines to some extent both high school and nursing school chosen, appears to have been a factor in the social selection of the nurses. Religious background seems to have affected selection in another way, too, because the school attended, whether public or separate, also appears to have determined whether a girl entered nursing with the minimal qualifications or entered after having attempted Grade XIII (Table 10).

TABLE 9

Nursing Students Classified by Religion and Occupation of Father

Occupation of Father	Religion		Total
	Protestant	Roman Catholic	
Non-manual.....	6	4	10
Manual.....	13	4	17
Total.....	19	8	27

Needless to say, father's occupation, which largely determines financial ability, also limits the number who can or are willing to leave Paulend to study, it being much less expensive for the parents if their daughters train at the local hospital (Table 11).

TABLE 10

Nurses Progressing to Grade XIII Classified by Religious Denomination and Occupation of Father

Occupation of Father	Protestant	Roman Catholic*	Total
Non-manual.....	5	—	5
Manual.....	5	—	5
Total.....	10	—	10

* All Grade XII graduates.

TABLE 11

Nursing Students Classified by Hospital and Occupation of Father

Occupation of Father	Civic	R.C. Hospital	Out of Town	Totals
Non-manual.....	1	5	4	10
Manual.....	9	5	3	17
Total.....	10	10	7	27

Nursing seems to be a road up for the girls from the homes of manual workers who reach, at least, the junior matriculation level (cf. the boys in 'Other Professions' p. 35). It is, however, also an acceptable occupation for girls from a higher social class, although more of them try to undergo their training away from home.

The interview data served to illustrate the fact that girls do not enter nursing for lack of something better to do. Girls go into nursing because they want to be nurses. Of the 27 girls interviewed at least 17 cannot remember ever wanting to be anything else. Five or six considered other careers while in high school, but the rest did not even comment on this point. Nursing appears to be an end in itself for it does not appeal through great financial rewards nor, as far as this sample was concerned, through high mobility either social or geographical. Nursing is not an easy course to take but the profession is generally considered to be an ideal one for girls.

It is largely this ideal image of the profession that allows parents and guidance teachers to present such a clear unequivocal picture to the young girl. From early childhood her decision to be a nurse is taken seriously. Neither her parents (nor, later, the school) try to present alternatives if she has the academic potential to handle the course. The world probably accepts her first career choice as her final one, a rather unusual situation for most urban youngsters.

Apart from the prestige nursing carries, as a responsible and very feminine profession, it also endows its incumbents with security and a certain amount of mobility. Thus parents, though strongly influenced by the myth surrounding nursing, are not motivated by it alone when they support their daughter's plans for the future. At relatively low cost and in controlled surroundings, a secure and respected position can be bought for a girl, whatever her background. This aspect of nursing will appeal particularly to the lower strata of society.

Although nursing probably does not enhance the already high position of a professional man's daughter, he may regard it with favour. In the rigorous course she will acquire discipline, poise, *sang-froid* and a great deal of very practical knowledge. If the hospital she trains at is well chosen (as it may well be, as we can see from the fact that some of the 'non-manual' girls chose to train outside of Paulend at famous large hospitals), his daughter will meet the 'right' people. She will also be protected from undesirable contact with unorthodox people and ideas to which a university career or a business college would expose her. A nurse's course for these families comes close in many ways to a finishing school.

We have seen, then, that the girls in Paulend and vicinity decide to be nurses while they are still children. If they ponder any alternatives under the influence of high school, these are likely to be university, teaching and a secretarial career. Often these are toyed with temporarily and then dropped. The reasons? University: "Too long" and "Too hard". Teaching: It seems to

lose its glamour in high school and this is an important factor for prospective nurses who often enter their field with the most idealistic notions about the work and its significance. As for commercial courses, while most nurses had no deep interest in academic work, many of them regarded commercial courses as not ambitious enough, some socially and others intellectually.

It is potentially easy for a girl to use nursing for the purpose of geographic or social mobility. Doubtless, the most important example of mobility among nurses is the large group of farmers' daughters who move into the city to train for nursing. Many of these girls were not interviewed in our Paulend survey because they were not then working there or else they had not gone to school in Paulend and left after finishing their training. In neither case did they come under the definition of in-migrant.

While the farm girls have to leave home to go into training, the local girls of Paulend have the choice of staying or leaving. Only seven of the 27 girls decided to train out of town. The hospitals chosen were the following:

Toronto Western	2
Toronto Wellesley	1
London Victoria	2
Windsor Metro General	1
Woodstock	1

In two or three cases of geographic mobility among the urban girls, it was the relatives at the new hospital or in the new city, who provided the information and the incentive for leaving the nest.

Apart from the vertical mobility, which is a real fact in the case of girls fresh off the farm, there is a good possibility for any nurse to travel after graduation. Nursing is a standardized skill that is welcome anywhere, particularly with the current shortage of nurses.

Only four of the 27 nurses had definite plans to leave the country; they planned to work in the U.S. Two girls (still in training) had vague hopes of seeing the world. The other girls are going to work in hospitals throughout Ontario, mostly Paulend and Toronto.

If one asks what a nurse's concept of her future is, one realizes that it is rather hazy. All nurses interviewed were confident of marriage within the next five years; seven had definite wedding plans for the next two years. Only one of the 18 graduates is currently doing graduate work, and only one student mentioned wanting to do further training. One girl is considering missionary work in the far future—and one has thought about public health nursing up north.

In talking to them, one gets the impression that the majority of nurses are unaware of the possibilities open to them in the fields of public health, clinical specialization, or in simple geographic mobility. One possibility that some of the nurses had considered in high school was that of stewardess, but all the girls concerned labelled that as a "silly dream".

Teaching. Twenty-seven, or 5 per cent, of the total Interviewed Sample entered Teaching, 19 of whom were girls and 8 were boys. Others, of course, presently studying at the university may enter Teaching, but, at that point, they are unlikely to become elementary school teachers, as is the case with those who enter the profession via a teachers' training college.

The Teachers' Training College in Paulend serves the city and the surrounding district—very few come from distant points in the province. As in the case of the nurses, those studying in Paulend College who had not worked or gone to school in Paulend were not included in our study.

The Paulend Teachers' Training College offers three different courses for prospective elementary school teachers, viz:

- (a) a one-year course for senior matriculants
- (b) a two-year course for junior matriculants, and
- (c) a one-year finishing course for teachers who have already taught for two years but whose only previous training was a summer course at teachers' college.

The minimum requirements for entry to the college are successful completion of Grade XII (junior matriculation), but as noted above a shorter course is provided for those who have completed Grade XIII, i.e., have their senior matriculation. Moreover, the student who has completed some of his Grade XIII requirements is further assisted, and may enter scheme (a) above if he takes the opportunity to complete his senior matriculation at the college during the following summer. But high school achievement is not the sole determinant in being accepted or rejected for these courses at the college. Prospective students after having completed Grades XII or XIII must also take the college's I.Q. and M.A.Q. (Mathematics Achievement Quotient) tests.

The performance of the teacher-in-training in any of these courses is graded on two independent scales. These student teachers are given grades for their academic achievement at the college, that is, as students. Independently, they are also graded as prospective teachers. They teach from time-to-time in various classrooms for a period of a few days where the 'home-room' teacher gives them scores on various 'units' of performance. These units of performance are not well defined, and the independent factors both in performance and judgement are both numerous and unpredictable. It was found that, in comparison with the uniformity of nursing achievement while in training, a student-teacher's performance through the year varied enormously. Perhaps the situation is further complicated by the fact that there are both male and female students and male and female teachers, while nurses, both trainees and instructors, being all female, have an easier framework in which to operate.

All of the members of the sample who went to teachers' college, with the exception of four girls, had made one or two attempts at passing Grade XIII (Table 12). One was unsuccessful. Hence, all but five were eligible

to follow course type (a) for senior matriculants. This is a rather high proportion (80 per cent) when it is remembered that Grade XIII was not a compulsory requirement for entry to the college at the time of the study.

TABLE 12

Student Teachers Classified by Sex and Achievement in Final Year of High School

	Male				Female			
	Passed 1st Try	Passed 2nd Try	Failed Grade	Total Male	Passed 1st Try	Passed 2nd Try	Failed Grade	Total Female
Grade XII.....	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	4
Grade XIII.....	2	6	—	8	10	4	1	15
Total.....	2	6	—	8	12	6	1	19

A more detailed analysis of the students' performance, as outlined in Table 13, shows that of the 23 student-teachers who attempted Grade XIII, one half required two years to complete it, one even failing to do so after the two years. In addition, if their performance at the Grade XII level is included, 13 of the 27 teachers, or almost one half, suffered at least one failure late in their high school careers. It is noteworthy that, while the numbers are small, the girls' performance was better than that of the boys'. The boys' failure rate in Grade XIII was six out of eight; by contrast, 12 of the 19 girls had a straight academic record, ten of these having completed Grade XIII.

TABLE 13

Student Teachers Classified by I.Q. and Gender

	A	B	C	D	Unknown	Total
Boys.....	2	4	2	—	—	8
Girls.....	5	2	8	3	1	19
Total.....	7	6	10	3	1	27

Almost half of the 27 teachers have I.Q.'s above the average (Table 13). But while there are many intelligent students in the teacher's sample (25 per cent with an I.Q. over 120), there are some whose I.Q. is below 90, a level at which the student is not normally considered capable of reaching Grade XII successfully. One might assume that these would have difficulties

in teaching. The policy of the teachers' college is to accept applicants who have the minimum entrance requirements, yet whose academic record and I.Q. are not high, and to retain them if they are successful in handling a class. Very often, according to the authorities at the teachers' college, the relatively unsuccessful high school student turns out to be excellent teacher material.

Social origin and religious affiliation—not unrelated in Paulend, of course—have played an important role in the social selection of the teachers (Table 14). Only 6 of the 27 teachers in the Paulend sample have fathers in non-manual occupations; that is, more than three quarters of them may be said to have working-class origins. (In comparison nursing attracted a larger proportion of girls from the homes of fathers in non-manual occupations.)

When this is coupled with the fact that teaching attracts the more capable girls, and that the boys entering the profession tended to be those who had trouble in high school (despite the fact that they were mostly 'above average' in measured I.Q.), we find some verification of the public image of the elementary school teacher. She is still the 'schoolmarm' of ages gone by. Inasmuch as the teacher is an intellectual woman and controls, if not the minds, at least the time of unruly youngsters of both sexes, the image of the teacher may be idealized, especially in rural areas.

TABLE 14

Student Teachers Classified by Religion, Sex and Social Class

	Non-Roman* Catholic	Roman Catholic	Total
Male			
Non-manual.....	2	—	2
Manual.....	4	2	6
Female			
Non-manual.....	4	—	4
Manual.....	9	6	15
Total.....	19	8	27

* A Jewish member in our sample is included here.

The higher social classes probably prefer their sons and daughters to be high school, rather than elementary, school teachers. The urban elementary school teacher is something of a servant to the school board and the parents, a position that will not enhance the status of a girl from a middle-class family. The boys can of course advance within the school administration, but there are more desirable administrations in which to

advance, as far as the upper strata are concerned. In addition, the social milieu, including the fellow students, in which the elementary school teacher's training takes place and the general lack of high quality intellectual stimulation rules out the teachers' college as a pseudo-finishing school for the girls from middle-class families. Also, it is possible that girls in elementary school teaching are considered ready to earn their living at too tender an age; it may well be part of the constructive use of leisure common among the upper classes to extend a youngster's education well into his or her twenties.

Boys, as a group, can be said to shun the public school teaching field. This is partly due to the image of the teacher being female. In our sample, four of the eight boys regarded teaching as a stepping stone to higher education. During their teaching years, they hope to acquire sufficient funds or sufficient academic honours to go to university. Three of the boys in teaching went into it because they could think of nothing better to do and were advised by guidance to try teaching. Most of the male members of the sample were not really in a position to choose between teaching and something better.

Teaching seems to appeal most to girls from lower middle-class and working-class homes. Most of the teachers in the sample were much aware of high earning potential, long vacations, security, prestige and possibilities of improvement. Most of the graduate teachers continued to teachers' college in the summer of 1961 (as some had the summer before) to get extra credits for specialized training in some additional field. On the whole, the girls who entered teaching are more aware of career possibilities in teaching than are their high school friends, who entered nursing aware of the opportunities in their own field.

Despite this, the teachers appear to see little opportunity for geographical mobility in teaching. None of the teachers in the sample, plan to teach in other parts of the Commonwealth (as they might well do) or to move to the U.S. for a period of time.

Geographic mobility, inasmuch as it exists, is congruent with vertical mobility or family mobility. Almost all of the graduate teachers in the sample applied for positions in Toronto or with the Paulend Board of Education. Jobs in Toronto carry the highest prestige. Paulend is also desirable, both because it is home and because it is a city of substantial size.

Where one is placed appears to be of great importance. The girls who landed merely in a two-room school felt they had to soften the impact of this fact by referring to extenuating circumstances such as, convenient location to a university city, or prospects to teach in Toronto.

Teaching seems well on the way to becoming a bureaucracy, in which the teachers think of their careers rationally with a hard-headed assessment of economic gains. Advancement comes through placing oneself strategically in a specific school system, not through a foot-loose career as an independent professional.

Other Professions. The only other professions in which any of our sample is represented are Accountancy and the Church, although, of course, some still studying at the university are studying engineering and others are in the very early stages of law, pharmacy, and medical or pre-medical training. This latter group will be treated later as part of the university cohort. Only nine members (all male) of the sample are in the two professions mentioned above, and, in all cases, they are still in training.

In the present sample, two of the Roman Catholics are presently studying at seminaries in preparation for the priesthood. Both of these come from the families of manual workers and both did very well at high school, graduating in the minimum time required.

All of the accountancy students are preparing for their careers by being articled to a Chartered Accountant and each is being trained both on-the-job and by following a correspondence course prepared by the professional association. Some of those presently attending university may, of course, decide to become chartered accountants after having taken a university degree. Graduation from Grade XIII (senior matriculation) is a pre-requisite for entering this training and two of the seven graduated from the separate school, in each case graduating after only five years in high school. Only one from the public school system graduated in this minimum period, the other four having split Grade XIII, their final year program, into two years.

Five of the seven accountancy students come from the families of manual workers, one is the son of an office clerk and the other is the son of a Chartered Accountant. Hence, it appears that this route to professional qualification, like the Church, provides an avenue to higher education for working class boys who graduate from high school, yet, for one reason or another, usually financial, do not go on to university. While on this note, it is not without interest that two of the professions which offered an opportunity to the able working-class youth in our sample (both male and female) are striving to change their entrance requirements (i) so that only university graduates may enter (Chartered Accountancy); or, (ii) to restrict the training in the profession (Nursing) to a combined university-hospital course, that is, for those who can afford to go to university.

The University

The university cohort consisted of 27 boys and 16 girls; this represents 8.16 per cent of the total Interviewed Sample.

To enter most universities in Ontario successful standing in at least eight Grade XIII subjects is necessary. Thirty-seven of the 43 in the sample who went to university reached this standard. Another 4 (all boys) attempted Grade XIII but were unsuccessful, two other boys passed Grade XII but did not attempt Grade XIII. These six students have gone to the U.S. for their higher education or to Canadian universities which accept Ontario junior matriculants. Not all of those with senior matriculation standing, however,

got through high school with the same facility: Of the 37 matriculants, 30 passed every year during their high school career (that is, got through in five years); six spent six years in high school; and one boy remained in school seven years before matriculating.

The Paulend university students have selected a wide variety of different courses but the faculty of Arts and Science has attracted the lion's share of the students; approximately one half of the boys, however, are to be found in the various professional schools.

<i>Courses</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Arts and Science	14	12
Engineering	5	—
Pharmacy	1	2
Business Administration	3	—
Law	2	—
Physical and Health Education	—	2
Medicine	1	—
Forestry	1	—
	—	—
	27	16

More boys than girls from Paulend went on to university; this reflects, in part, the larger number of boys who continue in high school to the Grade XIII level, as well as the different stress placed by parents upon their sons' and daughters' post-high school education. Sixty-seven males and 49 females in the interviewed population attempted Grade XIII and, of these, 37 and 32 per cent respectively went to university.

The differential ability of the two sexes to cope with the academic program at the high schools is highlighted when the performances of the boys and girls in this cohort are compared. Fifteen of the 16 girls attending university have 'perfect' academic records—five years in high school and a successful Grade XIII; the one exception passed after six years.

On the other hand, among the 25 university boys who reached Grade XIII, only 60 per cent passed Grade XIII after having spent five years in high school. Another 24 per cent passed Grade XIII after spending six or seven years in high school, and 16 per cent failed the grade after varying numbers of years at school. Two additional boys attended university, having passed Grade XII, but without having attempted Grade XIII.

This pattern of boys striving to enter university with lower academic records than girls would seem to indicate, at first glance, a greater perseverance in the male population to further their education in order to enter the work world, while the less successful girls could afford to leave earlier and still find work. Thirty-seven per cent of the boys and 71 per cent of the girls of the interviewed population who entered Grade XIII left high school with a senior matriculation (no grades repeated). Within this group of boys and

girls who completed Grade XIII in five years, however, 60 per cent of the boys went to university, while only 43 per cent of the girls attended. Another 54 per cent of these girls with 'perfect' high school records appear in the 'Professional' column of Chart 4. This indicates a considerable tendency, for girls who have done well at high school, to attend the local teachers' college or enter nursing, rather than begin a university career. This trend is particularly marked in the case of girls whose fathers or guardians are in manual occupations.

The I.Q. ratings were available for 35 of the 41 university students. The following table indicates the numbers in the various categories: (A—120 plus, B—110-119, C—90-109, D—89 and below).

I.Q. Rating	Boys	Girls
A	7	5
B	3	4
C	10	5
D	1	-

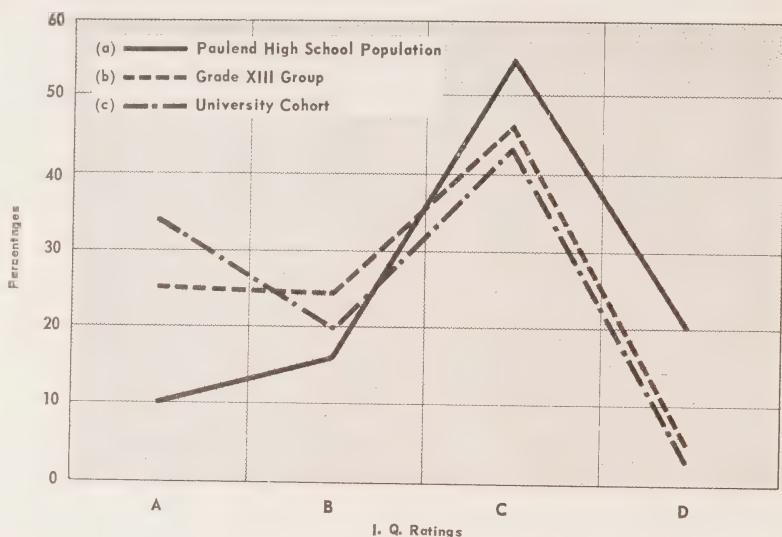
The I.Q. ratings of all the students in this survey who entered Grade XIII do not appear to be an adequate predictor as to whether students will go on to university or not. No significant difference was found between the I.Q. ratings of university students and the rest of the Grade XIII population. Nineteen of the 35 university students (or 54 per cent) were in the I.Q. categories A and B. Forty-nine per cent or 47 of the 96 Grade XIII students who had taken an I.Q. test were in the A and B categories (these 96 include the 35 who went to university).

Some contrast is provided by comparing the I.Q. ratings of the Grade XIII students, and more especially the university cohort with the larger high school population. Of those who had taken I.Q. tests, 26 per cent of the Paulend high school population had ratings in the A and B Categories. In comparison with this, the 49 per cent and 54 per cent of the Grade XIII and university groups are in the A and B ranks, which does seem to validate the I.Q. ratings here as a measure of intelligence: or, in keeping with the analysis in Chapter III, it shows that the middle-class children who do well in I.Q. tests, whatever the reason may be, also come from families able to send them to university.

Chart 5 indicates the percentages of persons within (a) the total high school population, (b) the Grade XIII group, and (c) the university cohort who had I.Q. ratings in each of the four ranks.

Up to this point, no mention has been made of the social origins of the members of the university cohort. As might be expected from earlier evidence in this study, there is a marked difference between the proportions of the Paulend university students who come from the families of manual and non-manual workers.

CHART 5 - I.Q. RATING AND PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS IN EACH RATING



An inspection of the larger population shows that 24.5 per cent of the students who attended the Paulend high schools had parents or guardians in non-manual occupations. Of the total interviewed population, 21.9 per cent of the subjects had parents or guardians in non-manual occupations. Within the university cohort, 60 per cent had parents or guardians in non-manual occupations. The differential relationship between social class and higher education is obvious.

Before leaving the discussion of university training, a comment may be offered regarding selection into the university. On the face of it, the universities are admitting only a small portion of the high calibre students and admitting many of low calibre. In Paulend, the school records indicated that there were 56 students with I.Q.'s over 120; of these, only 12 reached university. There were 35 students of known I.Q.s from the community who went to university. It would appear, therefore, that two thirds of the students who went to university from Paulend were less than brilliant as far as I.Q. is concerned; whereas, of all the brilliant students in the survey, one in five reached university.

If we combine this group with those in B category (those able to handle high school work adequately, but likely to have difficulty in university) we get a comparable picture. In Paulend, there were 141 A's and B's; of these 19 reached university, approximately one in 7. By contrast there were in the university contingent 16 students of I.Q.s below 110 (those likely to have

difficulty with *high school* work). Using this much more modest criterion for university entrance, only one in 7 of those of university calibre manages to get there; almost half of those who get there probably have difficulty in managing even a high school curriculum.

White-Collar Work

There are two main channels in Paulend through which white collar workers can get training:

- (a) the commercial course in high school;
- (b) business courses outside the formal school system. Most students combine various business courses with varying amounts of formal training, both academic and commercial.

The commercial courses, which are taught in all but the Roman Catholic high school, are of three types:

- (a) four-year commercial course after Grade VIII with a Grade XII diploma given;
- (b) two-year commercial course after Grade VIII with the Grade X diploma given;
- (c) one-year commercial course after Grades XI, XII or XIII, with a special commercial diploma given.

There are two private business colleges, in Paulend, both giving full business courses as well as special training in any commercial field. The first is a very highly regarded institution. It manages to retain most of its students for at least ten months. Its graduation rate compares favourably with that of similar institutions across Canada. The students interviewed were all satisfied with both the training they had received and the personal interest that the headmistress took in their progress. The other business college has a poorer reputation and seems to lose its students to the first institution after a few weeks.

The evening classes of the Department of Education differ mainly from the business colleges in that they can be attended while the student is employed and that one can take only a few subjects (usually two) during one year. Although many of the girls and boys in the sample tried the evening classes few stayed on to complete them.

During the two preceding years, correspondence courses seem to have become popular in Paulend. Many of the persons in the total sample are taking them at present. The subject most often studied is bookkeeping.

One hundred and forty-eight persons, or 28 per cent, of the total sample of 527 were employed in white-collar jobs. The jobs were, however, mainly feminine. There were 102 girls, or 42 per cent, of the female sample and 46 boys, or about 18 per cent of the male sample. Their school and training background are indicated in Tables 15 and 16.

TABLE 15

Male White-Collar Workers in Paulend Classified by Achievement in High School
and Kind of Commercial Education

	GRADE									Total
	VIII	IX	X Comm.	X Other	XI Comm.	XI Other	XII Comm.	XII Other	XIII	
PASSED										
With Other Comm. Educ.	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	2	1	6
Without Other Comm. Educ.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	5	11
FAILED										
With Other Comm. Educ.	—	—	—	4	—	3	—	1	3	11
Without Other Comm. Educ.	—	—	—	2	—	3	—	5	8	18
Total.....	—	—	—	8	—	6	1	14	17	46

TABLE 16

Female White-Collar Workers Classified by Type of High School Course
and Other Commercial Education

	GRADE									Total
	VIII	IX	X Comm.	X Other	XI Comm.	XI Other	XII Comm.	XII Other	XIII	
With Other Comm. Educ.	—	5	8	7	2	16	4	18	1	61
Without Other Comm. Educ.	2	1	1	4	4	4	19	3	3	41
Total.....	2	6	9	11	6	20	23	21	4	102

TABLE 17

White-Collar Workers in Paulend Classified by Sex and Occupation of Father

Occupation of Father	Male	Female	Total
Non-Manual.....	12	22	34
Manual.....	34	80	114
Total.....	46	102	148

TABLE 18

White-Collar Workers in Paulend Classified by Sex and Geographic Mobility

	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Locals	Total
Male.....	11	8	27	46
Female.....	8	16	78	102
Total.....	19	24	105	148

White-collar work is pre-eminently girls' work. Only one boy of the 46 had embarked on the commercial course in high school, whereas 24 of the 102 girls proceeded to that course.

Many of the boys seem to have reached this work after failure in Grade XIII. Only a negligible number of the girls had attempted Grade XIII, whereas over a third of the boys had done so, with almost a quarter of the boys failing the attempt. The boys' record is rather uniform—approximately two thirds have failed some course between Grades X and XIII and this has marked their point of departure into white-collar work. Though not analysed here, the record of the girls is very much better.

The girls seem to make the jump into white-collar work earlier than do the boys. Even those who leave school at Grades VIII and IX have found their way into such jobs. No boys have done so. Fewer than a third of the boys entered without reaching junior matriculation, but over half of the girls did so. Since boys are older than girls in these grades the age of the boys is substantially greater at the time they enter white-collar jobs.

From the evidence, it seems that the girls have a three-fold advantage: industry takes them younger with less formal training; the high school is geared to train them for their work careers; and business colleges supplement the girls' schooling in terms both of direct instruction and of job placement.

White-collar work is the most convenient occupation as far as climbing in the social world is concerned. The proportion of such workers coming from the homes of manual workers is very high—more so for girls than boys. Moreover, since so many more girls than boys enter such work it is clear that girls climb ahead of their parents in terms of occupation to a much greater degree than do boys, as appears in Table 17.

Training in white-collar skills also affords geographical mobility, or perhaps imposes it. As shown in Table 18 boys move around more than do the girls in white-collar jobs.

Among the female white-collar workers in this age cohort, income appears to bear little relation to length of formal education at this point in their careers. Some Grade XII and Grade XIII graduates were earning from \$60 to \$70 per week, but so too were some who had failed Grade IX but had taken a six-month business college course. In general, 'length of time at work', that is, experience, appeared to be as important as high school grade completed.

Skilled Trades

Both male and female members of the sample were found in occupations requiring a formal apprenticeship or on-the-job training deemed to be equivalent. Skilled trades for the purpose of this study were defined as jobs requiring an apprenticeship or other formal training of at least two years with a certificate given at the end of that period if examinations were successfully passed. Most of the sample, of course, had not yet completed their training but had progressed a considerable distance along the road to the skilled tradesman level.

Female. All of the girls whose occupation was classified as a skilled trade were hairdressers. While hairdressing fulfils the requirements listed above, a seven and a half month full-time day school course, costing \$490 for 1200 hours of instruction, is available, which can substantially reduce the period of recognized apprenticeship. None of the girls in the sample took advantage of this course.¹

The academic entrance requirements for training in hairdressing are virtually nil and the scholastic experience of the girls in the sample reflect this state of affairs. Six of the eight girls failed the last year they attended school: two attempted Grade XII, and two Grade XI, and all failed. One left upon the completion of Grade VIII; and the rest achieved no better than Grades IX and X. With this and the analysis in the previous chapter in mind, it is not surprising to find that only one of the eight girls came from the family of a non-manual worker.

¹ Cf. p. 73. Whether this restricted character of the skilled trade sample is due to limited opportunities or to the unimaginative guidance in Paulend schools cannot be determined.

These girls have all reached various stages in their training: five are still apprentices and three are working as full-fledged hairdressers. The qualified hairdressers earn from \$45 to \$55 per week in Paulend but the wages of the apprentices vary widely, depending upon how advanced they are in their training. Some earn about \$30 per week including commissions; the lowest reported wage was \$15 per week. It should be mentioned that the two girls in the sample who passed in their final year in high school are both qualified hairdressers.

Hairdressing, unlike nursing, is not an occupation that most girls have been looking forward to since they were very young. In most cases it is a job they 'discover' or drift into after other work experience. Five of these 8 hairdressers left school, and subsequently started looking for something to do. They got jobs in hairdressers' shops either immediately after leaving school or after being laid off from a manual job in one of the local industries. Two of the girls had always wanted to be hairdressers, one because it would let her earn money soon after Grade VIII (she did not go to high school), the other because she had an aunt in the trade. The other girl was offered a job at a hairdresser's while still in school and she decided to leave school and take the job. But all of the girls mentioned in the interviews said, in effect, that they had 'always wanted to learn a trade'. Some of them appear to have been frightened by the layoffs in local factory labour because they would be the first to lose their jobs if they had worked as unskilled labourers.

Male. The boys, unlike the girls, were engaged in a large number of different occupations and were employed and being trained in a wide variety of business and industrial establishments. At the time of the survey only six had completed their apprenticeships—one auto-mechanic, one sheet-metal worker, one electrician, one plasterer, one baker, one bandsman, and one (an apprentice plumber) was unemployed.

Number	Trade	Number	Trade
9	Auto-Mechanic	1	Army Bandsman
4	Sheet-Metal Worker	1	Baker
3	Electrician	1	Instrument Mechanic
3	Toolmaker	1	Plumber
2	Carpenter	1	Refrigeration
2	Draughtsman		Mechanic
2	Plasterer	1	Storekeeper (Auto-mobile)

The 30 who are presently employed are scattered through a wide range of establishments, 15 in all. Their distribution is as follows:

<i>Big Industry ('The Big Five')</i>		<i>Small Industry</i>	
Draughtsman	1	Instrument	
Toolmaker	3	Mechanic	1
Electrician	1	Electrician	1
<i>Construction</i>		<i>Trade (Retail)</i>	
Carpenter	2	Baker	1
Plasterer	2		
<i>Service (Public)</i>		<i>Service (Personal)*</i>	
Refrigeration		Auto-Mechanics	9
Mechanic	1	Electrician	1
Army Bandsman	1	Sheet-Metal	
		Worker	4
<i>Service (Professional)</i>		Storekeeper	
Draughtsman	1	(Auto)	1

* Please refer to footnote 2 on page 10.

The vocational courses at the high schools provided the educational background for 22 of the 31 boys in the skilled tradesman category. (This is not surprising in view of the fact that the vocational teachers play an important role in the placement of their graduates. This is discussed in a later chapter.) Two of the apprentices reached Grade XIII. One of these, a draughtsman's apprentice, obtained his senior matriculation. It is interesting to note that six of the apprentices never went beyond Grade IX, the first year of high school in Paulend, and one of this group never even entered high school. Also of interest is the fact that 50 per cent of this group of skilled tradesman and apprentices were nineteen years of age or over upon leaving high school. Their academic records and ages upon leaving school are shown on pages 44 and 45.

Academic Background of the Skilled Tradesmen (Male)

Last Grade Attended	School Record		
	Passed	Failed or Incomplete	Total
VIII.....	1	—	1
IX.....	2	3	5
X—Vocational.....	1	2	3
XI—Vocational.....	—	1 }	2
Academic.....	—	1 }	
XII—Vocational.....	15	3	18
XIII.....	1	1	2

Last Grade Attended

Age Upon Leaving School	Last Grade Attended						Total
	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	
16.....	1	4	—	1	—	—	6
17.....	—	—	2	—	2	—	4
18.....	—	1	1	1	2	1	6
19.....	—	—	—	—	5	1	6
20.....	—	—	—	—	9	—	9

Seven of the apprentices have also attended, or were attending, evening classes at the local vocational school; and 3 of them have attended the full-time day courses at the Provincial Institute of Trades in Ontario.

Seven-eighths of the apprentices, or apprentice-trained boys, in the Paulend sample are the sons of manual workers. This reflects, in part, the observations made in the previous chapter regarding the role of social class in students' course selections and the teachers' course recommendations in the high school system.

Semi-Skilled Occupations

The category of semi-skilled jobs was defined as those requiring a training period of longer than three weeks and shorter than twelve months. These training programs varied; some included classroom instruction, others consisted only of on-the-job training.

Female. The majority of the girls in this group are certified nurses' assistants, all of whom trained at the Department of Public Health in Toronto. The ten months' course included lectures and hospital duty.

Of the 9 girls in this category there are:

- 6 certified nurses' assistants
- 1 assistant hairdresser (who left the course mid-way and is not an apprentice; she works part-time)
- 1 untrained dental assistant
- 1 wirer and solderer

Only one of the semi-skilled workers had gone as far as Grade XI in high school, and she had failed there. On the other hand, the failure rate is not as high as among the skilled workers; more than half these girls passed the last grade they were in before leaving school.

None of the girls in semi-skilled occupations has parents in non-manual occupations. The whole sample is blue collar and, like the hairdressers, almost wholly Protestant in religion.

The certified nurses' assistants did not all indicate their incomes on the questionnaires. Of the nine, income is known for only 4, but they all earn

between \$40 and \$50 per week. Since these girls have been in the working world from two to four years, these figures demonstrate the income ceiling which exists for semi-skilled jobs. The white-collar workers ranged as high as \$70 per week.

Almost all the nurses' assistants had been working in industry before going into the hospital to work. Lay-offs propelled them into the service industry from other industries. Some of the girls went back to consult their guidance teachers about their future; others took jobs as unskilled labourers at the hospital and were later encouraged by the senior staff to take the course in Toronto.

On the whole, it can be said that nurses' assistants go into their field, not after a process of planning and training, but to improve as much as possible their rather precarious position as unskilled labour in the service industry. The girl who failed Grade XI wanted to be a nurse, but illness kept her behind her class and the guidance counsellor advised her to take the nursing assistant's course.

TABLE 19

Semi-Skilled Girls Classified by Success or Failure of Final Year in High School

Grade	Passed	Failed	Total
VIII.....	1	—	1
IX.....	1	—	1
X.....	3	3	6
XI.....	—	1	1
TOTAL.....	5	4	9

TABLE 20

Semi-Skilled Girls Classified by Religious Affiliation and Occupation of Father

Occupation of Father	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Total
Non-Manual.....	—	—	—
Manual.....	7	2	9
TOTAL.....	7	2	9

Male. The largest single group of boys, in our sample in the semi-skilled occupational category, are working as machine operators in industry. Following close behind are the truck drivers and that far from clear-cut group

known as 'helpers'. In the truck driver group a wide variety of skills is represented, from the purely mechanical skill of only operating the vehicle to operating the vehicle, and 'calling upon the trade' in the course of the day, i.e., from truck drivers to route salesmen for soft drink firms and bread companies. The range of semi-skilled occupations¹ was as follows:

Number	Type of Work	Number	Type of Work
13 (2)	Machine Operators	2	Policemen
12	Truck Drivers/Route Salesmen (six each)	1	Cook's Helper
8 (4)	Helpers	1	Dental Technician's Assistant
4	Shippers	1	Service Station Attendant
2	Assemblers	1 (1)	Spray Painter

The men in the semi-skilled category were employed by a large number of firms but the largest single group of employers were those classified in this study as 'small industry other than construction'. The employers were classified as follows:

Number	Employers	Number	Employers
2 (1)	Big Industry ('The Big Five')	3	Transportation
3 (1)	Other Big Industry	3	Trade (Retail)
3	Small Industry—Contracting	2	Communication
		3	Service—Public
		7 (2)	Service—Personal
17 (3)	Small Industry—Other	2	Service—Professional

The boys engaged in these pursuits brought with them to these jobs a vast range of academic accomplishments extending from nine who never entered high school, to one who spent a year at university. In general, however, their scholastic career was one marked by failure; 33 of the 41 who attended high school failed or failed to complete the last grade which they attended at high school; as noted earlier 9 did not attend school beyond the elementary level. It is not without significance, however, that 16 of the 53 attended night school classes or followed correspondence courses. Five of the nine who never entered high school, attended night school. In most cases those attending evening classes stuck it out for only one year and only four attended classes in the evening for a second year. The courses followed in this manner included both vocational and academic subjects (motor mechanics and

¹ The unemployed and semi-skilled workers are included and they are classified here by their previous work and their last employer. The number of unemployed are placed in brackets.

English, for example) whereas the correspondence courses (not one of which was followed to completion) were purely vocational, e.g., radio, welding, draughting, etc.

Academic Background of the Semi-Skilled (Male)

Last Grade Attended	Passed	Failed or Incomplete	Total
VIII or Less.....	9	—	9
IX.....	2	10	12
X—Vocational.....	2	6	8
Academic.....	—	2	2
XI—Vocational.....	—	7	7
Academic.....	1	3	4
XII—Vocational.....	4	1	5
Academic.....	—	3	4
XIII.....	1*	1	2
Total.....	19	33	53

*Spent one year at the university after Grade XIII.

Age Upon Leaving School	Last Grade Attended						Total
	VIII*	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	
14.....	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
15.....	3	3	—	—	—	—	6
16.....	3	3	4	2	2	—	14
17.....	3	2	1	2	1	1	10
18.....	—	1	3	3	1	1	9
19.....	—	—	2	2	2	—	6
20.....	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
21.....	—	—	—	—	1	—	1

*Signifies Grade VIII and below, that is, elementary school only.

The social origin of this group of male semi-skilled workers is very similar to that of the male skilled tradesmen in our sample: 85 per cent of them come from the families of manual workers. This, in keeping with the analysis of the previous chapter, can help to account for the fact that 20 per cent of them left school before the minimum school-leaving age and for their generally lower level of accomplishment in the school system.

Previous studies carried out in Canada by the Department of Labour¹ indicate that a considerable number of Canadian skilled tradesmen acquired their skills in Canada by on-the-job training and upgrading rather than by formal apprenticeship and other organized training. Hence, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a number of these respondents presently working as

¹ Research Program on the Training of Skilled Manpower, Report No. 4, Acquisition of Skills.

machine operators or 'helpers' will eventually reach the ranks of the skilled tradesmen.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to pursue, in some detail, the paths followed by students on leaving school. It has traced both the academic and the vocational opportunities available to the student. Three threads of the discussion deserve recapitulation.

The first is the vast variety of routes open to those leaving school. A quick backward glance indicates how great is the range and variety of possible job openings. It indicates, too, both the clustering of many youngsters in a few of these, and the scattering of one or two students among each of a great range of occupations. In many cases the student is 'one of a kind'. The consequences of this diversity are to tax the knowledge and ingenuity of guidance counsellors to a staggering degree; a fact that is reflected in Chapter VII.

A second observation has to do with the degree to which the student follows in the occupational footsteps of the parent. Here, too, there is an anomaly; for some the occupational background of the parent seems to decide the work future of the youngster; for others the door to the occupation opens the way to higher social class. The general picture emerging is one in which the girl has a much greater likelihood of climbing above her parents than is the case for the boy.

Thirdly, although these schools, officially co-educational, are offering roughly identical curricula for boys and girls, the paths for the two sexes diverge sharply. The opportunities for the girl to use school and post-school education to climb to a higher class level than her parents are markedly superior to those of the boys. The work world of the girls differs from that of the boys not merely in terms of its scope, but also in a large number of other respects which, though only dimly apparent, would warrant careful scrutiny.

The actual manner in which young people make their entry into the work world, their sources of assistance in doing so, and the role of educational and vocational guidance in the schools and elsewhere, will be treated in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER V - THE WORK WORLD

The members of the sample are working in a wide variety of firms ranging in size from one manufacturing company, which employs over 3,000 men and women, to small three- or four-man service stations. At the time of the study, one quarter of the sample was employed by big industry—as defined in this report, (see p. 51)—and one fifth by small industry. There is considerable difference, however, in the proportions of males and females employed by big industry as well as in the nature of their employment there (Tables 21 and 22).

As far as the sample is concerned, over twice as many females as males are employed by big industry in Paulend. The discrepancy is even greater if 'The Big 5' alone are considered. 'The Big 5' employ about four times as many girls as boys. The boys tend to be concentrated in small industry, trade and personal service; these three categories alone account for three fifths of the whole male sample. The girls are concentrated in big industry, finance, public service and personal service; these four categories account for over three quarters of the total female sample.

Since two of the firms included in 'The Big 5' employ a sizeable number of skilled tradesmen and technicians it can only be assumed that (i) they recruit personnel for these posts from outside the community or, (ii) they depend upon small industry to train their future employees. The migration of newcomers to Paulend is very small, hence this would lead us to believe that the second assumption is correct. Only five of the 32 boys who have been classified as skilled tradesmen in our report are presently employed in 'The Big 5'.¹

The nature of the duties (whether manual or non-manual) performed by the members of the sample who are presently employed in the various categories of industry in Paulend are shown in Table 22. The marked difference in the nature of the male and female work emphasizes the points made later in Chapter VI—The Girls' World and The Boys' World. (Quite obviously, the girls are able to find the 'nice' jobs of industry and the 'dirty work' is left to the boys.)

¹ Although general employment in Paulend was at a rather low level in the period prior to the time of the survey, the guidance officers in the school system stated that they had found difficulty for some years in placing male students as apprentices or trainees in the large firms.

TABLE 21

Distribution of Sample by Type of Industry

	Boys (176)	Girls (158)	Total (334)
	%	%	%
Big Industry.....	15	36	25
'The Big 5' ¹	8}	30}	19}
100-300.....	7}	6}	6}
Small Industry.....	29	8	19
Construction.....	7}	—}	4}
Other.....	22}	8}	15}
Transportation.....	2	—	1
Trade.....	15	4	10
Communication.....	2	9	5
Finance.....	9	15	12
Service (Public).....	8	16	12
Service (Personal).....	17	10	14
Service (Professional).....	2	1	2
Agriculture.....	1	—	— ²
Total.....	100	99	100

¹ 'The Big 5' account for approximately one third of the total labour force in Paulend.² Less than 0.5%.

TABLE 22

Nature of Duties by Type of Industry

	Manual		Non-Manual		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
The Big 5.....	7	16	7	32	14	48
Other Big Industry.....	10	5	2	4	12	9
Construction.....	12	—	1	—	13	—
Other Small Industry.....	34	6	4	7	38	13
Transportation.....	3	—	—	—	3	—
Communication.....	2	1	1	14	3	15
Trade.....	12	1	15	6	27	7
Finance.....	—	—	16	23	16	23
Service (Public).....	15	13	—	12	15	25
Service (Personal).....	30	13	—	3	30	16
Service (Professional).....	4	1	—	1	4	2
Total.....	129(74%)	56(35%)	46(26%)	102(65%)	175(100%)	158(100%)

Finding the First Job

Three quarters of the boys and an equal proportion of the girls in the sample did not continue their education beyond the secondary school level, but entered the world of work instead (Table 23). A sizeable proportion of these, of course, did not complete high school. Indeed, 28 per cent of the boys and 22 per cent of the girls who went to work without completing high school did not attend school beyond Grade IX—two fifths, and one third respectively of this group of early drop-outs did not get beyond elementary school. An additional 32 per cent of the boys and 45 per cent of the girls did not attend school beyond Grades X and XI, and the remainder, 40 per cent of the boys and 33 per cent of the girls attended Grades XII or XIII or the special commercial course.

TABLE 23

Occupational Distribution of the Sample

	Boys		Girls		Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional.....	18	7	47	17	65	12
University.....	27	11	16	6	43	8
High School/Other Education.....	14	6	6	2	20	4
Entered the Work World ¹	191	75	202	74	393	75
Never Worked.....	3	1	3	1	6	1
Total.....	253	100	274	100	527	100

¹ Not included in this group, throughout this section of the report, are those boys presently working and articulated in a chartered accountant's office. They are included in the professional category.

The initial period of transition from school to work does not appear to have been a very painful one for most of the sample (in terms of unemployment or, rather, employment opportunities), 88 per cent of whom found jobs within the first month of leaving school. A large number of these had already found jobs before leaving school, and an additional 6 per cent located work within three months (Table 24).

A few girls appear to have taken longer to find their first full-time jobs than the boys. Most of these girls, however, reported that they felt no sense of urgency to look for a job after leaving school. In some cases they "went to help my sister" or mother or aunt who was "sick", "had an accident", "was all alone".

TABLE 24

Length of Time Required to Find First Full-Time Job

	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One Month or Less.....	168	88	178	89	346	88
Two-to-Three Months.....	14	7	11	5	25	6
Four-to-Six Months.....	—	—	5	2	5	1
Seven-to-Twelve Months.....	5	3	4	2	9	2
Over One Year.....	—	—	4	2	4	1
No Information.....	4	2	—	—	3	1
Total.....	191	100	202	100	393	99

The boys who had difficulty finding their first full-time job tended to find work eventually in unskilled manual jobs (dishwashers, cleaners at the hospital, construction hands). It is interesting to note that educational qualifications do not appear to have been a determining factor in whether the boys found it hard or not to find a job, although the total numbers are small (Tables 25 and 26). On the other hand it was those girls who left school in Grades X and XI and were looking for white-collar jobs who seem to have had the most difficulty. It must be remembered, however, that one half of the total sample of girls who entered the work world entered white-collar occupations.

TABLE 25

Educational Background of Those who had Difficulty
Finding Their First Full-Time Job

Educational ¹ Background	Boys (19)	Girls (24)	Total (43)
Grade IX or Less.....	6	3	9
Grades X—XI.....	6	17	23
Grades XII, XIII and SC.....	7	4	11
Total.....	19	24	43

¹ Ten of the thirteen boys who went beyond Grade IX had followed a vocational course.

Despite the wide variety of school experiences and levels of academic attainment, they (both boys and girls) were all, with only six exceptions, able to find a niche in the work world. In the course of this job-finding process both boys and girls received assistance from a number of sources although a large proportion of both sexes found their first jobs 'on their own'. Charts

6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 illustrate the manner in which: (i) those who reached various grade levels (Grade IX or less, Grades X and XI, and Grades XII, XIII, or Special Commercial) and (ii) those who entered four major occupational categories (white collar, skilled trades, semi-skilled, and unskilled) found their first jobs.

TABLE 26

Resultant Occupational Category of Those who had
Difficulty Finding Their First Full-Time Job

Occupational-Category	Boys (19)	Girls (24)	Total (43)
White Collar.....	2	13	15
Skilled Trades.....	3	2	5
Semi-Skilled.....	3	1	4
Unskilled.....	11	8	19
Total.....	19	24	43

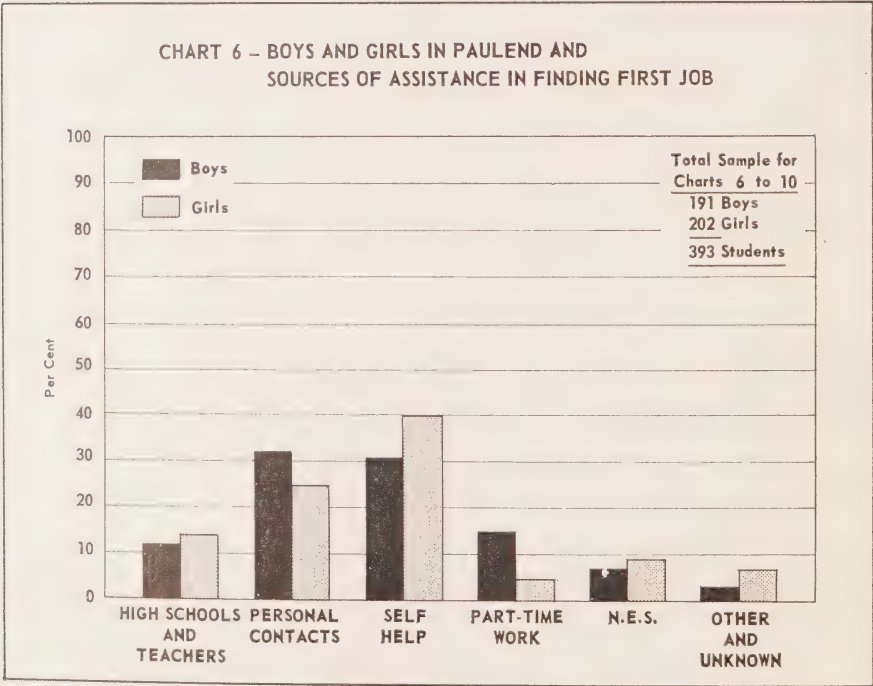


CHART 7 - LEVEL OF SCHOOLING OF BOYS IN PAULEND AND
SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE IN FINDING FIRST JOB

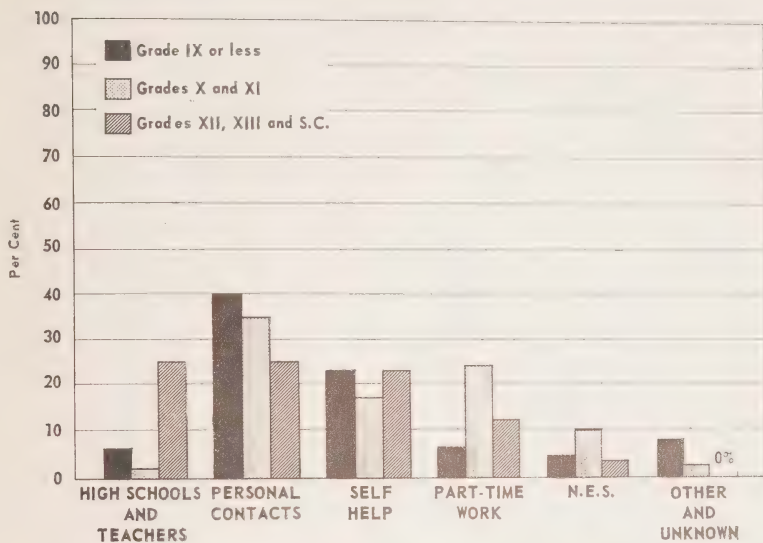


CHART 8 - OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF BOYS IN PAULEND AND
SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE IN FINDING FIRST JOB

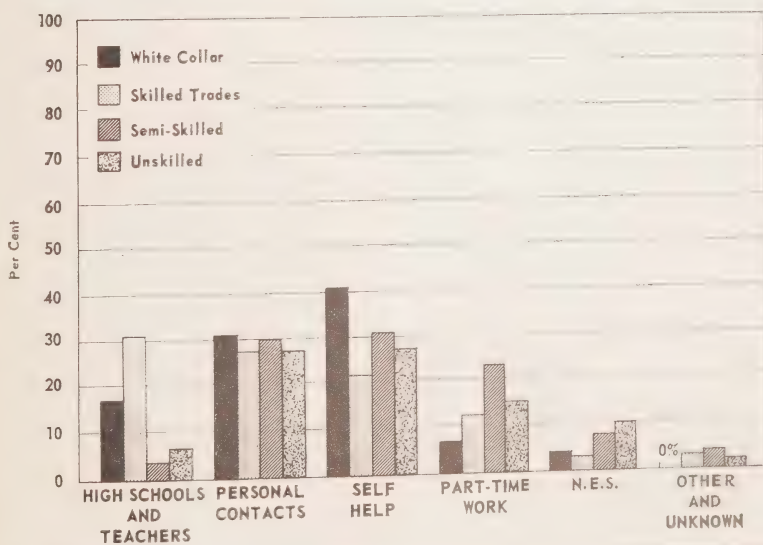


CHART 9 – LEVEL OF SCHOOLING OF GIRLS IN PAULEND AND SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE IN FINDING FIRST JOB

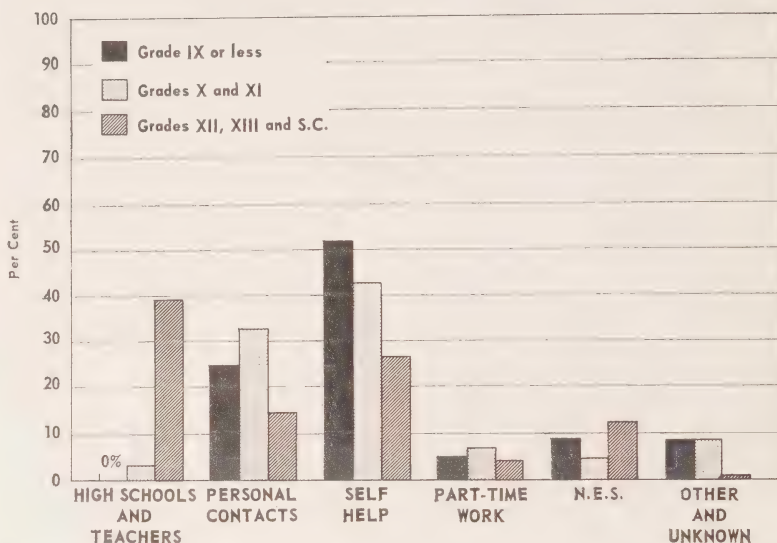
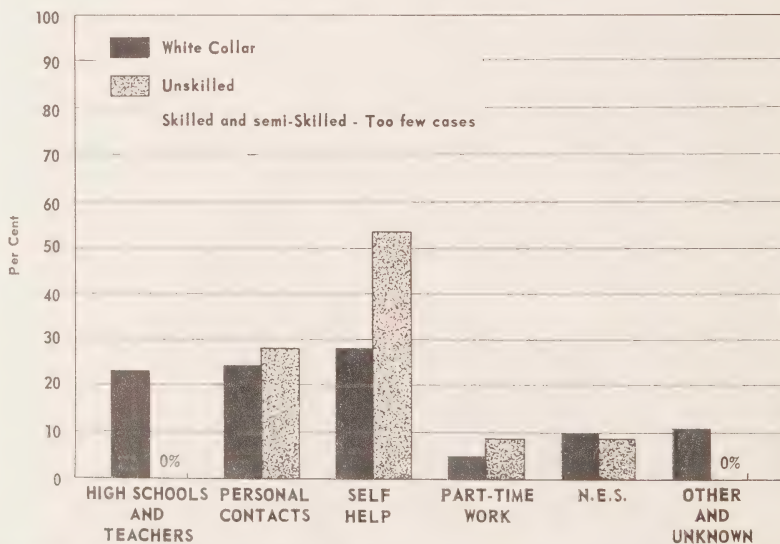


CHART 10 – OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF GIRLS IN PAULEND AND SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE IN FINDING FIRST JOB



For the purpose of this analysis, the ways in which the sample found their first jobs have been classified into the following categories:

- i) Schools and Teachers (includes the publicly operated and the separate schools)
- ii) Personal Contacts (includes family and friends)
- iii) Self-help (finding a job on one's own)
- iv) Part-time Work (part-time after-school jobs becoming full-time jobs after leaving school)
- v) National Employment Service
- vi) Other

The three major sources of assistance for the boys in finding their first jobs were: (i) Personal Contacts, (ii) Self-help, and, (iii) Part-time Work, in that order of importance. Finding one's own job appears to be the manner in which the largest proportion of girls made their initial entry into business and industry; although 'Personal Contacts' and the 'Schools and Teachers' combined, provided the means of entry for approximately two fifths of the girls.

Schools and Teachers. On the basis of this study, it appears that the schools and the teachers are more able to place (or maybe more interested in finding jobs for) those boys and girls who have *completed* a technical or commercial course than any of the other school leavers. That is, they are able to place, with relative ease, those boys who have the qualifications necessary to embark on apprenticeship and other further training programs, and girls who possess typing and other clerical skills. The comments of the ex-vocational students, gathered during the course of the interviews, indicated the very active role that the technical and the commercial teachers played in facilitating their initial entry into business and industry.

These teachers maintain a wide circle of contacts with employers in the area. In early spring every year, they let the employers know (in some cases via a letter) how many students they expect to complete the final year of the vocational course. At the same time they make inquiries as to the availability of apprenticeship or other training places for the boys and clerical openings for the girls. In many cases, if openings are available immediately, they are offered by the teachers to the most promising students (those with 'above average' standing) who then leave school a month or two before the end of term. These students all receive a diploma stating that they have completed their respective course. It is more common for the girls in the commercial course to be placed before the end of the regular school term than it is for the boys in the technical classes.

The schools also assisted a few of the boys who attended the 'auxiliary classes' in the elementary schools—they were deemed incapable of handling studies at the secondary school level. These boys were placed in a manufacturing firm, which has a number of jobs for people who are expected to carry out very simple repetitive operations.

Personal Contacts. Assistance from family and friends helped one third of the boys and one quarter of the girls to find the first job. The assistance took many forms, but, in most cases, incidental knowledge of openings in one work place or another, provided the school leaver with an introduction or information about a potential employer. See *Other*, page 59.

While 'Personal Contacts' were important to boys in general, no matter what type of job they entered, their importance decreased as educational achievement rose. Those with minimum qualifications (Grade IX or less) required the assistance of family and friends more than did those who had reached the Grade XII or XIII or Special Commercial course levels.

The picture of the girls is not as clear-cut as that for the boys, but personal contacts were used most frequently by girls who had attained the intermediate educational level (Grades X or XI) and by those who entered unskilled occupations.

The extensive use of personal contacts for finding a job may not be a phenomenon unknown to other areas; but the size of the community studied is such that it is probably more prevalent there than in a large metropolitan area.

Self-Help. A large proportion of both the boys and the girls found their own jobs. In large measure this was a matter of 'knocking on doors', 'making the rounds' of industry, and answering newspaper advertisements.

Among the boys, the most poorly educated and the better educated seem to have found their own jobs, whereas, among the girls, there was a decreasing dependence upon this form of job-getting with increasing educational attainment. The girls with the minimal qualifications were also the ones who found their own first jobs at the unskilled manual level, e.g., routine packing duties in the breakfast food industry. These girls together with the boys who had similar educational qualifications, tended to find their jobs by 'making the rounds'. On the other hand, the boys with better educational qualifications tended to find their first jobs in the white-collar fields (banks, sales representatives, etc.,) via the newspapers or by having interviews with bank managers, etc. This is particularly true of those boys who followed the academic course; those who followed a vocational course to the Grade XII level, as noted earlier, were helped by their teachers.

Part-Time Work. The part-time after-school-hours job which developed into the first full-time job after leaving school, was a more fruitful source of work for the boys than the girls. In many cases, the boys who followed this path into the work world were taking a vocational course at school and working part-time in a service station or helping on a delivery truck—these boys seldom completed their vocational course. Too few girls followed this route into the work world to make any meaningful generalizations.

National Employment Service. The National Employment Service provided 8 per cent of the modified sample (includes only those who went to work) with their first full-time jobs. Among the boys it was most useful for those with poorer educational qualifications who entered the work world at the semi-skilled and unskilled occupational levels. In the case of the girls, however, it appears to have been useful to both those seeking white collar jobs and those who entered at the unskilled manual worker's level. The National Employment Service, or "the Unemployment" as it is known among the youngsters interviewed, seems to be the place that the sample members went to *after* they had been working for some time and were desirous of changing their jobs or were laid off and seeking work.

Other. The residual category 'Other' is a very small one and only in the instance of the girls in the sample is it of particular relevance. All of the girls in this category (8 per cent of the girls in the modified sample) who did not continue beyond Grade XI at one of the publicly-operated schools or the separate school, enrolled at a private business college, and were placed in the work world by the operators of the business college. This seems to be an effective alternative to the completion of a commercial course at high school since it serves the same purpose so far as the girls themselves are concerned, i.e., it trains them for the business world and the business college authorities find them a job. (Some of the girls who followed this route described their relief on being rid of the restrictive atmosphere of the high school when they went to the business college. It was at some financial cost, of course, to their parents.)

Occupational Inheritance

Some comment has already been made about the 'class chances' of finishing high school. It is also interesting to note the way in which class influences operate in the sifting and sorting of the work world.

This is another instance where there is a marked difference between the experiences of the boys and the girls (Table 27). Over 60 per cent of the boys from the families of non-manual workers are themselves employed in non-manual occupations whereas 90 per cent of the girls with a similar background are in the non-manual work. Of interest too is the fact that two thirds of the girls whose fathers or guardians are manual workers have found work in non-manual fields. This is in sharp contrast to the boys from the families of manual workers, where the proportions entering manual and non-manual occupations are the reverse, that is, two thirds of the manual workers' sons are engaged in manual occupations and one third in non-manual.

TABLE 27

Respondent's Occupational-Class by Father's or Guardian's Occupational-Class

Respondent's Occupational-Class	Boys ¹		Girls ¹	
	Non-Manual (64)	Manual (189)	Non-Manual (61)	Manual (213)
	%	%	%	%
Non-Manual.....	62.5	34	90	66
Professions.....	5.0	8	21	16
University.....	26.5	5	18	2
Other Education ²	9.0	4	7	1
White Collar.....	22.0	17	44	47
Manual.....	37.5	64	10	33
Skilled Trades.....	8.0	14	3	4
Semi-Skilled.....	12.5	24	—	5
Unskilled.....	17.0	26	7	24
Never Worked.....	—	2	—	1
Total.....	100.0	100	100	100

¹ The unemployed boys and girls and the housewives have been classified by their last job.

² Still in high school, Ryerson, etc.

Holding a Job

While most of the school leavers were able to find their first full-time jobs with relative ease, many were not successful in finding jobs which offered an extended period of full-time employment. Hence, a number suffered varying periods of unemployment. In a few instances this was the result of seasonal unemployment in one of the five major industries in the community which in conjunction with other small 'feeder' factories in the same line of products lay off a sizeable proportion of their production and clerical staff every summer. Sometimes the out-of-work period was simply time spent looking for "a better job".

Three fifths of those in the sample who went to work have never been unemployed; one fifth have suffered 'some unemployment' and an equal proportion have suffered 'much unemployment' (Table 28). 'Some unemployment', as used in this study, means having been out of work for three months or less after once holding a full-time job; 'much unemployment' describes a period of over three months out of work after the first full-time job.

The boys experienced unemployment more than the girls, one half of them having been unemployed for some period during their relatively short working career; and one quarter of all the boys having been unemployed

for periods totalling over 3 months. It must be borne in mind, however, that 20 per cent of the girls married and left the work world of business and industry—some of the others married, though they did not leave their jobs—thus reducing a certain amount of the competition for jobs among the younger members of the female labour force.

TABLE 28
Pattern of Employment by Sex

	Boys (191)	Girls ¹ (202)	Total (393)
	%	%	%
No Unemployment.....	48	68	59
1 Job Only.....	30	42	
2 Jobs.....	13	16	
3 or More Jobs.....	5	10	
Some Unemployment.....	24	16	20
1 Job Only.....	4	7	
2 Jobs.....	9	5	
3 or More Jobs.....	11	4	
Much Unemployment.....	25	16	20
1 Job Only.....	4	5	
2 Jobs.....	18	10	
3 or More Jobs.....			
Unknown.....	3	—	1
Total.....	100	100	100

¹ The work experience of those girls who are married and whose present full-time occupation is 'housewife' is included up to that point when they left the labour force.

The favourable position of the girls in the work world of Paulend is further exemplified in the data contained in Tables 29 and 30. Here it may be noted that, independent of the level of schooling attained or the type of work in which they are engaged, the girls' chances (based on the present sample) of never being out of work are always greater than those of the boys. For example, boys with minimal educational qualifications have only one chance in five of finding continuous employment whereas girls with a similar school background have a 50-50 chance. This is very largely due to the fact that half of the total sample of girls are in white-collar occupations, a field of work which tends to provide greater job security than the manual occupations.

TABLE 29
Pattern of Employment by School Leaving Level

	Grade IX or Less		Grades X and XI		Grades XII, XIII and SC	
	Boys (54)	Girls (44)	Boys (62)	Girls (91)	Boys (75)	Girls (67)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
No Unemployment.....	20	50	48	66	76	84
Unemployed at Some Time.....	80	50	52	34	17	16
Unknown.....	—	—	—	—	7	—
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 30
Pattern of Employment by Occupations

	White Collar		Skilled Trades		Semi-Skilled		Unskilled	
	Boys (46)	Girls (126)	Boys (32)	Girls (10)	Boys (52)	Girls (10)	Boys (61)	Girls (56)
	%	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%	%
No Unemployment.....	70	79	20	8	42	8	28	41
Unemployed at Some Time.....	19	21	12	2	58	2	72	59
Unknown.....	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total.....	100	100	32	10	100	10	100	100

The Unemployed

Six per cent of the total sample who went to work after leaving elementary or high school (excluding those whose present occupation is housewife or those who suffered from either mental or physical disability) were unemployed at the time of the study in June-July of 1961 (Table 31). In terms of numbers, this group is too small to provide a basis for any useful generalization, but their educational background and previous occupation are outlined in Tables 32 and 33. While the number is small it is noticeable that over half of the unemployed boys did not attend school beyond Grade IX and all except one were previously in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations.

TABLE 31

Employment Status of the 'Working' Sample

	Boys (191)	Girls ¹ (159)	Sample ¹ (355)
	%	%	%
Employed.....	92	97	94
Unemployed.....	8	3	6
Total.....	100	100	100

¹ Excludes housewives.**TABLE 32**

Educational Background of the Unemployed in Paulend

	Boys	Girls	Total
Elementary School Only.....	7	—	7
Grade IX.....	2	—	2
Grade X.....	2 (T) ¹	2 (C) ¹ 2 (Ac) ¹	6
Grade XI.....	2 (T) ¹	1 (Ac) ¹	3
Grade XII.....	2 (Ac) ¹	—	2
Total.....	15	5	20

¹ T=Technical Course; C=Commercial Course; Ac=Academic Course.**TABLE 33**

Occupational Background of the Unemployed in Paulend

	Boys	Girls	Total
White Collar.....	—	2	2
Skilled Trades.....	1	1	2
Semi-Skilled.....	7	—	7
Unskilled.....	7	2	9
Total.....	15	5	20

Concluding Remarks

This section has attempted to analyse the school-leavers' entrance into the work world and their subsequent pattern of employment. To assist the analysis, two major variables have been used: (i) school background—as

represented by the last school grade attended; and (ii) the nature of the work being carried out—broadly speaking, whether manual or non-manual.

In general, the school leavers (whether male or female, whether graduates or not) had little or no difficulty finding their first job, although educational background did have some bearing upon the manner in which they found the job.

Educational background and the type of work they found, had a marked effect, however, upon their pattern of subsequent employment. In terms of continuous employment (that is, little or no unemployment), the girls of the sample had a decided advantage over the boys, and one of the most striking features of the material gathered in the interviews is the obvious ability of the girls to enter and leave the work world at will.¹ This was particularly noticeable in the case of those girls who were married, became pregnant, left their job to have their baby, then re-entered the work world the moment that they were able to arrange for someone (usually a close relative) to care for the child. In a number of instances, this happened more than once to the same girl; in other instances, the girls were able to arrange a 'leave of absence' from their offices during their period of confinement.

When the boys have successfully completed a vocational course (Grade XII) they are considered by employers to be 'ready to enter an apprenticeship' which, over the next four or five years, will prepare them for the journeyman's label and pay cheque. The girls, on the other hand, after successfully completing a commercial course (or even failing to complete it, but leaving school at the Grade X or XI level, and then attending a private business college for nine months or less) can enter the work world and, after a brief probationary period of a few months, become full-fledged typists, stenographers, or secretaries, drawing a salary commensurate with their qualified status. In addition, according to the interview data, there appears to be a much closer correspondence between what the girls learn in the commercial courses and what they do at work, than there is between what the boys learn in a technical or industrial course and what they do later.

This finding might form the basis for another inquiry or research project to determine the 'degree of fit' between the product of the vocational school and the industrial world, i.e., an examination of the course content and training provided in those schools, and the type of work or duties which most vocational school graduates are called upon to perform at work. Needless to say, this relationship is very complex and the 'fit' will never be perfect nor, probably, should it be, since the vocational schools are producing partially trained workers for further training in a wide variety of industries and businesses.

¹ Cf. p. 61.

CHAPTER VI - THE GIRLS' AND THE BOYS' WORLD

This study began as an exploration of the transition from the life of a student to the life of a gainfully employed person. Initially, we had viewed the work world as one organized by men for men, with women invading it at various points. We looked on the school world as a fundamentally co-educational world, offering roughly identical services to boys and girls. In the course of the study we modified these notions appreciably.

To begin with, the school world of Paulend and Croydon turns out to be, fundamentally, a feminine world. It provides an academic atmosphere in which girls thrive and boys fail. The girls manage it with marked success at a relatively early age. The boys linger in it, showing conspicuously higher failure rates. It is a world to which girls adapt with relative ease. Boys appear to reject it, and eventually it rejects them.

Moreover the school is a feminine world in the vocational sense. It prepares them admirably for their careers in the work world. The skills they learn are immediately transferable to the job world. Especially is this true for those who continue to university, those who prepare for school teaching and nursing, and those who enter clerical occupations. The skills learned in school seem ideally adapted for transfer to the job with little time delay.

For the boys, it is otherwise. Those who drag along to senior matriculation are in many cases unfitted for university work. If they choose school teaching, they find themselves in a girls' world. If they head for a strictly masculine type of work, the skilled trades in industry, they find that their jobs have little connection with their prior schooling. There seem to be few places where skills learned by boys in school, even in vocational school, can be applied to a specific job. The contrast between boys and girls is indeed startling. The graduate of a stenography course can start work immediately as a full-fledged stenographer. The graduate of a four-year course in mechanics starts as an apprentice.

Moreover, the girl who fails to adapt to the requirements of a commercial course can drop out and register for a brief period in a business school from which she can step into a real job. The business school cushions her fall from the academic world. There are no comparable institutions which can help the boy step from his half-completed schooling into the enjoyment of a well-established job.

In this context, it is worthy of note that our society provides much more in the way of specialized training facilities for girls than for boys. The two outstanding examples are our nursing schools and our teacher training colleges. Both nursing and teaching represent short-term careers for girls. The

short working career of most girls means that we train, in any one generation, several recruits for each available position. Indeed school teachers themselves recognize this state of affairs by referring to the emergence of the 'trousseau' teacher, implying that a teaching certificate is the modern equivalent of a dowry. Our society provides a costly scheme for training nurses and teachers. Perhaps we should say that the ostensible function of our nursing schools and teacher training colleges is to produce teachers and nurses for the society; however, their major function, for the girl, is to provide an effective and extensive marriage market. On the other hand, one is hard put to discover comparable outlays for boys embarking on long-term work careers of a comparable level of complexity.

To a significant degree, the work world shows signs of feminine growth. Its growing edge seems to be on the clerical side, and here girls have traditional advantages. Automation, in the community studied, seems to have slowed the flow into skilled jobs and speeded up the flow into clerical operations. This differential in girls' opportunities and boys' opportunities is most obvious in the larger industries of our community (Table 21). They have recently employed substantial numbers of girls, but very few boys.

Furthermore, the employer of white-collar workers seems to take girls with very limited formal schooling. Even those with no high school training are found in such work. And, in so far as girls outpace boys in the school system, they enter the world of clerical jobs at a much earlier age. The boys in our sample who entered white-collar jobs, were substantially older than the girls.

Even when girls enter the world of apprenticeship they enjoy an advantage. They require less schooling, and a shorter training period. Our only apprenticeship trade for girls in this report, is hairdressing; since it is associated with a booming service industry, the girls entering it appear to have an assured income and secure future. As theirs is largely a *local* service institution they can move along to become proprietors.

Two other measures of comparison may be employed. The ease of finding jobs is roughly similar for girls and boys. However, far more girls manage to make their initial job their permanent job. Moreover, not only are the number of jobs per person higher for boys than girls; the periods of unemployment for the boys last longer. Even the hazards of pregnancy do not seem to overbalance these advantages of the married girl in the job market.

The differential advantages of girls over boys, in school and in the invasion of the work world, may be attributed to innate superiority of one over the other. On the other hand, it may be essential that we should scrutinize, much more rigorously than we have in the past, our institutions for educating and training boys and girls, and for projecting them into the job world. On the face of it, these institutions appear to serve the girl much more satisfactorily than they do the boy.

CHAPTER VII - GUIDANCE IN PAULEND SCHOOLS

In Paulend, as in most Canadian cities, educational authorities have introduced a guidance department—no distinction will be made here between educational and vocational guidance since the schools themselves do not differentiate between the two. The ostensible *raison d'être* for this department are:

- (a) to make the students conversant with the expanding educational and occupational opportunities in their own and other communities
- (b) to assist students with various capabilities to
 - (i) select courses of study within their intellectual range (ability?) which will lead to future occupational opportunities, and
 - (ii) select a course in which they show some interest and aptitude; and
- (c) to place (to 'stream') the students in one of the various courses available on the basis of the students' 'measured ability' and past performance.

In a phrase, the aim is to help round pegs find round holes. The first of the reasons above takes on increasing importance as a wider section of the whole class spectrum of Canadian society is being retained (by age-leaving restrictions) in high school. In part, it is an attempt to help the students from the families of manual workers (and the parents themselves) understand the value of education and the need to remain in school.

To reach these ends the guidance officers and teachers have had various means placed at their disposal. Probably the three most important of these areas are:

- (a) I.Q. tests and various forms of 'objective' tests to aid the teachers in their own subjective assessment of the students' capabilities
- (b) a classroom course known as the 'Occupations and Work' course, is given to public school students in Paulend in Grades IX and XIII to orientate the students to the work world and its possibilities; and
- (c) personal interviews with the students if:
 - (i) they wish to leave school at an early age or are regular truants, and
 - (ii) they reach Grades XII and XIII.

There are a number of 'objective tests' which have been used in the Paulend public school system and they have been administered at various grade levels; those in general use are as follows:

Grade XII—Otis	Gamma	Grade IX—SRA Verbal
(learning capacity)		Grade IX—SRA Non-
Grade XII—Minnesota		Verbal ¹
Clerical Aptitude		Grade VII—Dominion
Grade XII—Kuder	Voca-	Intermediate Test
tional Interests		Grade IV—Dominion
Grade XII—Kuder Personal		Junior Test
Interests		

The results of the 'objective' tests, particularly those of the earlier grades in conjunction with the students' performances and the teachers' assessments, are used as tools for placement (or 'streaming'). Nevertheless, as noted earlier in the report, the inherent biases in the tests, coupled with the teachers' subjective assessments of the tests plus the teachers' subjective assessments of the students' educational and social backgrounds, tend to operate to the disadvantage of some students. The findings reported earlier, emphasize the extreme caution which should be exercised when relying upon these tests and assessments as predictive instruments.

The 'Occupations and Work' course appears to have made little or no impression upon the members of the sample. Those boys and girls who left school early (before and at the minimum school-leaving age) had little or no remembrance of the classes and, in any case, most of them had rejected the whole school system of which the classes were an integral part. Hence, the few statements which they did make, concerning the course and its value, were generally negative.

The girls who, for one reason or another, followed the commercial course at the high schools found the 'Occupations and Work' courses of little value because as one of them, now a Nursing Assistant, phrased it: "Everyone at the school assumed we were going to work in a bank anyway". The basic criticism of these classes, so far as commercial-course girls were concerned was the limited scope of the teachers' knowledge about the newer types of work open to girls in the office milieu. A number of the girls, who were business machine operators, commented upon the difficulty they had encountered in "finding out about these courses at high school". On the other hand, the boys who completed a vocational course in the high school appreciated the classes as they had been interpreted to them by their vocational teachers, but, since they found it difficult to locate a job in industry commensurate with their training, there is a strain of cynicism in their comments.

¹ It was reported to us by the authorities during the course of the study that the SRA Non-Verbal was administered only to the 'problem cases' to determine the source of the child's 'problem'—Is he or she really a 'slow learner'? Is there a language problem? etc.

Some of the more articulate students who followed the academic course to the point where decisions had to be made concerning the selection of a university—a university course or some other type of post-secondary training—had particularly caustic remarks to make concerning these classes and the efficacy of the personal interviews they had had with the guidance officers. It was their general opinion that the guidance officers and teachers knew of only two professions for girls, viz., ‘teaching and nursing’ and only one for boys, ‘teaching’. If the student seemed intent upon pursuing a university course, with no intention of becoming a teacher, the students believed that the guidance classes and the advice from the officers were of little use. Those presently attending a university think that the advisers know too little of the wide range of courses it is possible to follow at a large number of universities within easy reach of Paulend. (It is interesting to note, however, that the guidance officers, as one informed us, knew enough about the universities “to steer some of the ‘weaker sisters’ among the Grade XIII graduates into some universities where they would have more chance of succeeding because the standards were not as high as at X and Y.”)

A number of the respondents commented upon the general lack of real content in the ‘Occupations and Work’ classes and the teachers’ constant preoccupation with the qualifications required for the various occupations being discussed, rather than with the actual nature of the work carried out in the occupations.

“They gave us advice but I found it inadequate; they don’t seem to be qualified. What they say is too academic. It doesn’t seem as if any one of them has ever really worked in industry. So you might say that they just don’t know what they are talking about. At least, what they say hasn’t been relevant to the bit of experience I’ve had. For instance, they don’t describe the *reasons* for different systems. They might say there is an incentive system, but *why* piece-work pay rather than another system? Why an hourly wage rather than another system? And, of course, they have their own pet jobs they like to describe and leave out all kinds of other important jobs.” (Works in shipping room. Gr. XI Technical, failed, left school at age 16; nine siblings).

“She (the guidance teacher) used to talk about different jobs and how to get them. What to wear to apply for a job, but nothing definite.” (Hairdresser, Gr. IX incomplete).

“I recieved information on the CNA coarse through Guidense Teacher at X High School in Paulend.” (Her spelling). (Nursing Assistant. Gr. X Commercial, passed).

“I think I had one (guidance interview). They didn’t bother us too much.” (White collar, male. Gr. XII Commercial, passed).

When the remarks, comments and expressed attitudes of those respondents who went on to some type of further training or education are recorded and analysed, some interesting contrasts emerge. (The same categories used in Chapter IV will be used here.)

The Professions

Nursing. Only one of the 27 nurses replied to the question on the role of guidance in her career with more than a shrug. This one had been helped by a guidance teacher when she wavered between nursing and a secretarial career.

Most of these girls had always wanted to be nurses and there was little to talk about with the guidance teacher. Their plans were seldom questioned and little or no communication took place between the guidance teachers and the would-be nurses, at least on this subject.

Girls do not seem to be encouraged by the guidance teacher to consider a nursing career if they are still undecided towards the end of high school. They are expected to show enthusiasm for the profession, which is regarded as a vocation, if they are planning to enter it.

Most guidance teachers probably do not have the knowledge or the courage to dampen this enthusiasm in an idealistic student. Perhaps (being male and being born in Ontario) he even shares her high regard for the nursing profession which is still considered a stronghold of femininity. Nursing, it seems, is handled at an unrealistic level in guidance classes and interviews. The student has little opportunity to assess the various directions nursing careers may take in present-day medicine. Post-graduate nursing constitutes a long career line for which the student has to be steeled early, or she may not have the courage or ambition to attempt it later.

Teaching. Many of the female teachers had, from an early age, planned to go into teaching. Teaching, like nursing, is one of the professions traditionally open to Ontario women and if a little girl's plans are taken seriously, it is increasingly awkward for her to change her plans later in high school.

If doubts arise or disillusionment occurs in high school, the guidance system there is ideally suited to restore enthusiasm for a teaching career. Many girls who waver and consider other careers may eventually return to their childhood dream, now based on sound financial considerations stimulated by guidance. It is probable that most of the girls whom guidance directs towards teaching are not new recruits to the field.

It would be too much to say that high school guidance has a conscious bias towards teaching. It is merely that the guidance officer is a teacher himself and therefore qualified to discuss the profession on a realistic basis. Four of the sample of teachers mentioned 'help by guidance teachers', without being asked about it, and almost all had a very high opinion of the guidance

service as a source of information and encouragement. As a matter of fact, complaints were registered among the students from homes of fathers in manual occupations that teaching was over-emphasized in guidance classes.

There appears to be a real tendency among guidance teachers to encourage boys to go into teaching; it shows itself in the fact that the occupationally uncommitted youngsters who went to Grade XII and XIII frequently found their way into teaching. Of course, the material available to the guidance officer is not first class, academically speaking; and, in so far as men occupy the guidance posts, it may well be that they encourage boys to come along to fill the administrative posts in teaching to a greater degree than they do girls.

Other Professions. The 'Other Professions' comprise nine boys who have gone into religious orders or into Accountancy. The former represent a calling, and reveal nothing about guidance efforts. The latter group, seven in all, have generally favourable comments to make about the efforts of guidance teachers. On the other hand, their own decisions seem to have been made without reference to such help.

The most common pattern amongst these boys is for a job in book-keeping to open up in the father's business, or in that of a friend of the family. Several of these boys were good at mathematics, and could equally well have gone to university. Accountancy for them would seem to be a compromise between going away to university and taking a job in the local bank; it allows the boy to climb higher than his parents, but does not require moving away from the home base.

Several of these boys were sent through guidance officers on tours of firms, and so learned of the existence of Accountancy. Apparently the accountant's tasks are sufficiently clear and distinct to make a vivid impression on the boy; hence these boys, unlike most, have distinct recollections of guidance activities. Nevertheless, their own career decisions seem to be the result of family and friendship favours.

The University Cohort

Most of the university students interviewed had some recollection of a guidance class or an interview with a guidance counsellor during their high school career. Only one remembered a guidance interview which may have been instrumental in his deciding to enter an arts course. Two mentioned the Y.M.C.A. having guidance counsellors—"The people there are very good—just as qualified as any high school guidance teacher. They know what they're talking about". "We went to the 'Y'—it's more informal down there."

Most were rather vague in describing the effect of the guidance classes and personal interviews, giving comments such as, "I suppose they helped somebody." One person put into words the feeling of the researchers after a number of interviews when he stated: "I never heard anybody ranting and raving about what they got out of guidance."

Most significant here, however, are the comments of some others concerning guidance courses and interviews in relation to their university careers. A number mentioned what they felt to be limitations in the scope of the guidance departments in illustrating the variety of occupations available, the number of universities in eastern Canada, and the great number of courses offered. One Forestry student stated: "At 'B' High School I never even knew there was a U.N.B. (which he now attends) and didn't even know Toronto had Forestry." "They always stress Toronto, Queen's and Western; Carleton and McMaster aren't mentioned, but a lot of kids are going there and getting a good education." (Toronto student).

A number noted the few careers mentioned that a person may enter with various university degrees—"I thought it was only teaching a person could go into with a B.A., but there are millions!" Said another, "If I hadn't been interested in Pharmacy myself I'd never have found out from school, that's for sure."

There were also some recommendations for academic counselling concerning university courses and subjects. At university "You sign up for courses and it's just a name—I didn't know what Economics was until the first class."

It should be remembered, however, that although guidance was apparently little help to the university cohort in deciding about their future academic careers, most of them entered Grade IX around 1953 when vocational guidance was a comparatively new venture. One boy commented: "They never had very much when I was there—that was when they started it. Bill Y was the Guidance Counsellor." Some felt that guidance had become more advanced since the time they had attended the classes several years ago. "He (the counsellor) did the best he could with what little material there was available. They hardly had any of the tests and things that they have now. He worked hard and did the best he could."

White-Collar Work

As noted earlier, many girls in Paulend are attracted to white-collar work that is typically clerical. According to these respondents the guidance counsellors had little effect upon their choice of occupation; most of them had to be pressed before they remembered having been interviewed by the Counsellor. Those who left school early, before Grade XII, followed the well-worn path to the local business colleges and would have had little contact with the Counsellor, except for the initial interview when they entered high school. The girls who entered the academic course, and remained at school until Grades XII and XIII, usually rejected the counsellors' suggestions of nursing and teaching, as possible careers, in favour of the commercial world. Those who entered the vocational (commercial) course in Grade X and continued until its completion, needed, and indeed remembered, little assistance from the guidance department.

The boys who remained on in school until Grade XIII, and then entered white-collar work, claim to have received little or no assistance from the guidance program. (These boys all came from the homes of manual workers, so it is likely that, finances permitting, they would have gone on to university. In some cases they failed the year, but here again a better financial situation would have enabled them to continue until they had made the grade.) Those who did receive assistance at the school claim that it was a particular teacher who took an interest in them, rather than assistance from guidance *per se*. The data gathered in this study indicate that the guidance system at the high school appears to have been of little assistance to the Grades XII or XIII male student who did not plan to continue his formal education beyond the high school level.

Skilled Trades

In this category there is a marked difference between the guidance experiences of the boys and the girls.

None of the girls who became hairdressers remembers being guided into her present trade. Most of them left school too early to have had much, if any, contact with the guidance officer. Hairdressing can be entered very informally in Paulend; jobs are found by hearsay and personal contact. It may be recalled that none of the girls chose to go to a hairdressing school; this may be a financial phenomenon but, again, it may be due to lack of guidance.¹

On the other hand, nearly all of the boys in this category who completed the Grade XII vocational course, claimed to have received some guidance for their future careers at high school. It must be noted, however, that it was the assistance proffered by their vocational teachers, rather than their contacts with the guidance officers, which they recall. Those who are included in this category, but who were 'drop-outs' from the school system claim, in common with their other early-leaving school fellows in other classifications, to have received little assistance from the guidance program. This is not surprising because under the present set-up they are likely to have been interviewed by a member of the guidance department only upon their entrance to high school; since they left before Grade XII, the other point of contact between student and counsellor, few can recall this initial meeting.

Semi-Skilled Occupations

The girls in this category, particularly the certified nurse's assistants, did receive some assistance from their guidance counsellors. It is interesting that, in most cases, it was aid the students themselves had sought sometime after leaving school, usually after being laid-off from an unskilled job in

¹ Cf. p. 42.

industry. Guidance seems to have been of considerable help to girls in Paulend who wished to better themselves, but who did not want, for one reason or another, to take a business college course, yet were willing to train for lower level hospital duties.

Needless to say, very few of the boys in the semi-skilled category remember having had any contact whatever with a guidance officer or his department. After some prodding in the interview, some did recall being interviewed on entering the high school, but the interview and subsequent 'Occupations Nights', seem to have slipped completely from their memories. Enough has already been said about the 'drop-outs' in this section and in the early part of the chapter so no additional comment is necessary here.

After this cursory examination of the guidance program in Paulend it is not without interest to note that the people in the community most qualified to advise the would-be school leaver and other students about the world of work—the nature and duties of a job, physical conditions of work, qualifications demanded by the employers, stability of employment, etc.—are not likely to meet the student until after he or she has already had at least one job. The placement officers at the NES have little or no contact until some time after the school leaver has taken the initial step. This is an area wherein a little study and research may provide a sound basis for a plan for co-operation between the NES placement officers and the school guidance officers.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this community study was twofold: to report how Ontario educational institutions, at all levels, sort and sift the young people who are fed into them; and to inquire how these youngsters fare subsequently in finding places in the work world. The study was designed in such a way that we could follow a designated group of young people (those born in the year 1940) through their school careers and into their work careers.

Such a study faces a number of hazards which complicate the results. Two of these should be borne in mind in assessing the findings. First, it is not easy to select a community in which both the school system and the labour market are equally amenable to study. We decided to choose a relatively uncomplicated school system, and run the risk that the labour market might be complex and/or peculiar. Secondly, we attempted a complete coverage of the age-group selected; ideally we would have liked to have followed each and every youngster from the time he started school to his work status in 1961. In practice, of course, our sample thinned out with the passing of the years. Youngsters died, moved away, changed names, and otherwise disappeared from view. Some declined to be interviewed or to complete questionnaires. From a statistical point of view our 'school population' and 'work population' are not strictly comparable. Our intent, however, was not to secure such absolute comparability, but rather to learn what we could about the transition from school to work.

In the Ontario High School system students drop out during all five years. The school leaving age and the structure of high school courses tend, however, to cluster the 'drop-outs' at three points. The largest proportion end their high school careers in Grade X and another large contingent drops out in Grade XII. Approximately one in five continues as far as Senior Matriculation.

Any general statements, such as the above, tend to conceal very large differences among varied types of students. Of the bright students (the top quarter of the school population) about three-fourths proceed to the matriculation level; of the dull ones (the bottom quarter of the class) approximately a quarter reach matriculation. The middle half of the student body displays a distinctive pattern—almost equal proportions drop out during each of the five years of high school. It would appear that intelligence is roughly correlated with survival in high school, but enough bright students drop out early and enough dull ones carry through to the end to cast doubt on intelligence tests as good predictors of school performance.

Children from working class homes survive in smaller proportions than those from white-collar homes. Of the latter, about 35 per cent carry on to Senior Matriculation, whereas only 15 per cent of the children of manual workers manage this. In part, this is due to the choice of course in high school. Two thirds of those from white-collar homes choose the academic course; two thirds of those from homes of manual workers choose the vocational courses.

Boys and girls tend to drop out of school at about the same proportions in each Grade. There is, however, an obvious tendency for girls to achieve these grades at a younger age than do the boys. Boys fall out of school to a greater degree than do girls; they fail and repeat their year to a greater extent than do girls. The consequences for the boy of the higher failure rates, of the repetition of years, and of association in class with girls younger than themselves, are matters deserving scrutiny.

Beyond matriculation, three main channels open up for the student—nursing, elementary school teaching, and university. Approximately 10 per cent, 10 per cent and 15 per cent respectively of those reaching Grades XII and XIII continue along these lines. Nursing is almost entirely a girls' field, teaching is preponderantly so; boys outnumber girls in the university group. Nursing attracts a higher quality of high school graduate than does teaching. The boys going into teaching have notably poorer high school records than the girls. The same holds true of the university contingent; a much larger proportion of the girls have completed high school work without failing a year in high school.

It is clear that the University in this community does not secure the cream of the crop. Of the high-calibre students entering high school (the top 10 per cent) only one in five carries through to university. On the other hand, many of the poorly qualified students reach university. This community presented the high school with 56 superior students; of these 12 continued to university; in all it sent 41 students to university, of whom two-thirds were of average or below average academic promise.

For students entering the vocational courses in high school there are several channels leading to the work world, notably business schools and apprenticeship for the girls, and apprenticeships for the boys. The facilities for boys and girls differ markedly. Girls can drop out of high school at any grade, proceed to a relatively brief training in a business college, and move quickly to an established type of work position. If she chooses an apprenticeship instead, it too is relatively short in duration. By contrast, almost no boys follow the commercial path. Moreover, in order to move easily into an apprenticeship the boy must complete four years of a high school vocational program, and thereafter proceed to another four years as an apprentice before he can qualify for a skilled job.

Viewed from this perspective our society has a great range of facilities for girls—nursing schools, teacher training schools, business schools, and

apprentice schemes, all of which fit the girl into an adult job at a relatively young age. By contrast the facilities for boys are meagre and also time-consuming.

The range of occupations into which our sample moved was very large; the ways in which they found a job were many and varied; their subsequent histories of employment and unemployment are many and complex. Summarization is far from easy, but some general features can be noted.

Girls have been finding jobs in personal service, public service, finance institutions or big industry. Boys have found theirs in personal service, trade, or small industry. With the exception of personal service, the two sexes have found their jobs in very different segments of the economy.

The ways in which youngsters find a job are many and varied. The more common search patterns are as follows.

- (1) The efforts of teachers and other school functionaries.
- (2) The personal contacts of families and friends.
- (3) Individual efforts on the part of the student.
- (4) A continuation of part-time work undertaken while at school.
- (5) The National Employment Service.

In general, the youngsters studied had little or no difficulty in finding a job. However, boys were more likely to suffer subsequent unemployment than were girls, and experienced longer periods of unemployment. Boys with minimal education had only one chance in five of finding continuous employment; for girls the chances are equal. By and large, the girl is likely to find a job at a higher level than that held by her parent; here again the girl seems to secure advantages over the boy.

These young people made very little use of the National Employment Service in locating initial jobs. Only after losing a job do they tend to make use of the "Unemployment".

The specific guidance services of the schools have left only a vague imprint on the vast majority of students passing through the high schools. Very few of the students had any awareness of the facilities of the National Employment Service in guiding the student into an appropriate niche in the work world. By and large, the formal facilities for bridging the transition from school to work are ignored; students use their own initiative and/or flounder in moving from school to work.

APPENDIX I

The Migrants

In devising the study some attention was given to the facts of migration in such a population. Initially, we had contemplated a substantial degree of movement. The people born in 1940 could conceivably have completed their schooling by 1956; in other words, the period 1956-1961 might have seen considerable emigration among our population. On the other hand, we contemplated some accompanying immigration into the community. Given the specialization and localization of training services in the province, it seemed likely that the industries of the community would make use of various types of specialists trained elsewhere.

We assumed that, by and large, the inflow and outflow would differ in volume and type. The larger metropolises of the province exert a strong pull on populations of smaller communities; moreover, they make use of the more highly specialized sorts of occupations.

Our efforts located 53 people who moved into the community, 36 girls and 17 boys. The migrants from the community numbered 60, of which 35 were girls and 25 boys. Girls appear to be more mobile.

Migration is also selective as regards educational level and type of occupation. Turning first to the people who have trained to be teachers and nurses, and those attending university, among the emigrants there are 21; among the immigrants there are four. At the other end of the scale, among semi-skilled and unskilled workers the proportions are reversed. In these categories there are 24 immigrants and nine emigrants. The other substantial occupational category is the clerical group. In this the proportions are roughly similar; 24 moved into the community and 19 moved out.

As in other contexts, it would appear that the girl, and particularly the girl in a white-collar or professional job, has an advantage. In the case of the professional girl, she can escape to a larger community; in the case of the clerical worker, she can move between larger and smaller communities readily.

There are obvious limitations on the interpretations of the mobility of a specific age category. The selection favours the girls in many ways. Girls complete their training at an earlier age than do the boys. Our age category is one in which girls are likely to be launched into work and oriented toward marriage. On the other hand, boys entering apprenticeships, or heading to law, medicine, etc., are too young to be found in such statistical groups. If we had looked at thirty-one-year-olds, rather than twenty-one-year-olds, we might have found a different pattern of migration into the community; the outward movement would not necessarily differ greatly from that found among twenty-one-year olds.

APPENDIX II

Croydon Township

As a supplement to the study of Paulend a comparable survey was undertaken of one township in a large metropolitan community.

The area selected yielded approximately the same number of persons born in 1940 as did Paulend. The ethnic backgrounds of the two populations are similar, although there has been some recent migration of Jews and Italians into Croydon. Like Paulend, Croydon is predominantly a working class area, though with a wider range of occupations represented.

The township is served by four high schools. One is strictly a vocational school; the other three provide composite programmes for the students. Each had an adequate record system, carrying the data on the student from the time of his admission to Grade XIII.

The data on the 1940 cohort from Croydon were gathered by using the same instruments as were used in Paulend. Because of the difficulties involved in tracing people in the metropolitan area, no effort was made to follow the work careers of such students. The comparisons of Croydon and Paulend are restricted therefore to an analysis of the progress of these students through the high school system, and a correlation of choice of course and highest grade achieved with I.Q. and with the social background of the parent.

The school experiences of the 1940 Croydon cohort (872 students) are presented in the following tables, which indicate highest grade reached for each sex according to I.Q., type of course followed, and occupation of parent or guardian. The vocational school students are distinguished from those attending the composite schools.

The pattern for school leaving is similar to that found for Paulend and for the province—approximately equal numbers leave at each of the five grades. The exception is a smaller number of drop-outs at Grade XI.

However, the experiences in the vocational school differ from those in the composite schools. Approximately 40 per cent of the students in the former drop out at Grade IX and another 25 per cent at Grade X. For the composite schools the percentages are 13 per cent and 17 per cent.

On inspection it appears, as might be expected, that the vocational school draws heavily from the students from manual workers' homes. Of the 353 students involved, only 15 per cent came from homes of 'non-manual' parents. In the composite schools the percentage of children coming from such homes stands at approximately 42; moreover those same students are much more likely to choose the academic course than the vocational.

The students whose parents are in non-manual occupations are likewise over-represented in Grade XIII. Of 272 such students, 115 (42 per cent) reached Grade XIII. Of the other 600 students, 71 (12 per cent) reached senior matriculation.

These differences in social class perseverance in academic work are paralleled by striking sex differences. In families of non-manual workers the girls concentrate on the academic course; two out of three follow it, and of those, over 60 per cent reach senior matriculation. The girls from manual homes turn to the vocational course, and of those attempting the academic course only 20 out of 114 (18 per cent) reach Grade XIII. In short, from white-collar homes, girls go farther in school than do boys from the same homes. Girls from blue-collar homes drop out much earlier. The proportions of boys and girls entering the academic course, the proportions of these who reach Grade XIII and the proportion of all the students who reached Grade XIII are shown below:

	Boys	Girls	Total
<i>Parent in non-manual occupation</i>	(124)	(148)	(272)
	%	%	%
Proportion entering academic course	80	71	75
Proportion of academic students reaching			
Grade XIII	51	62	56
Proportion of <i>all</i> students reaching Grade XIII	40	44	42

	Boys	Girls	Total
<i>Parent in manual occupation</i>	(307)	(293)	(600)
	%	%	%
Proportion entering academic course	44	39	42
Proportion of academic students reaching			
Grade XIII	38	18	28
Proportion of <i>all</i> students reaching Grade XIII	17	7	12

It is not possible to trace the degree of success and failure of the Croydon students in the final year attempted in high school; hence comparisons with the Paulend data are limited to the above. So far as the comparisons go the general picture of drop-outs by social class, sex, and intellectual level corresponds to findings from Paulend.

APPENDIX II

TABLE I

Population Passing Through Croydon Vocational School Classified According to Gender, I.Q., Occupation of Father or Guardian, and Highest Grade Reached in School

Occupation of Father	Type of Course	Gender	Grade IX					Grade X					Grade XI					Grade XII					Grade XIII					Special Commercial					Total
			I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					I.Q.					
			A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	
Non-Manual	Academic	M																															
		F																															
	Vocational	M	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	4	-	3	1	1	2	2	-	1															24
		F	-	-	4	1	3	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	7	1	4														29
Manual	Academic	M																															
		F																															
	Vocational	M	-	2	4	1	1	1	3	2	5	4	1	1	3	2	1	4	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	165	
		F	-	3	2	5	1	4	1	2	0	4	9	1	7	2	-	7	-	2	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	135	

APPENDIX II

TABLE 2

Population Passing Through Three Croydon Composite Schools Classified According to Gender, I.Q., Occupation of Father or Guardian, Type of Course, and Highest Grade Reached in School

Occupation of Father	Type of Course	Gender	Grade IX				Grade X				Grade XI				Grade XII				Grade XIII				Special Commercial				Total	
			I.Q.				I.Q.				I.Q.				I.Q.				I.Q.				I.Q.					
			A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D	?	A	B	C	D		?
Non-Manual	Academic	M	-	3	8	-	1	-	-	6	-	1	1	2	6	-	1	-	5	11	-	4	16	15	11	-	8	99
		F	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	4	-	4	1	2	3	-	1	2	6	10	-	2	15	23	19	-	8	105
Non-Manual	Vocational	M					1																				1	
		F						2	5			1	1	-	3	1	-	1									14	
Manual	Academic	M	-	2	16	2	1	-	5	13	1	4	-	-	15	-	6	2	7	7	-	4	10	12	20	1	8	136
		F	1	-	13	3	4	-	3	18	2	3	3	3	13	-	2	4	10	10	1	1	2	5	10	-	3	114
Manual	Vocational	M								1	-	1	-	-	4												6	
		F			5	-	-	-	2	9	-	2	-	1	3	3	-	1	3	13	-	2					44	

APPENDIX III

TABLE 1

Boys and Girls in Paulend and Sources of Assistance in Finding First Job

Sources of Assistance	Boys (191)	Girls (202)	Total (393)
	%	%	%
High Schools and Teachers.....	12	14	13
Personal Contacts.....	32	25	29
Self.....	31	40	36
Part-Time Work.....	15	5	10
NES.....	7	9	8
Other.....	1}2	5}6	3
Unknown.....	1}2	1}6	1
Total.....	100	99	100

APPENDIX III

TABLE 2

Level of Schooling of Boys in Paulend and Sources of Assistance in Finding First Job

Sources of Assistance	Gr. IX or less (54)	Gr. X & XI (62)	Gr. XII, XIII and Sp. Comm. (75)	Total (191)
	%	%	%	%
High Schools and Teachers.....	7	2	25	13
Personal Contacts.....	40	35	25	32
Self.....	33	27	33	31
Part-Time Work.....	7	24	12	15
NES.....	5	10	4	7
Other.....	4	—	—	1
Unknown.....	4	2	—	1
Total.....	100	100	99	100

APPENDIX III

TABLE 3

Occupational Categories of Boys in Paulend and Sources
of Assistance in Finding First Job

Sources of Assistance	White Collar (46)	Skilled (32)	Semi- Skilled (52)	Un- Skilled (67)	Total (191)
	%	%	%	%	%
High Schools and Teachers.....	17	31	4	7	12
Personal Contact.....	31	28	30	38	32
Self.....	41	22	31	28	31
Part-Time Work.....	7	12	23	15	15
NES.....	4	3	8	10	7
Other.....	—	3	—	1	1
Unknown.....	—	—	4	1	1
Total.....	100	99	100	100	100

APPENDIX III

TABLE 4

Level of Schooling of Girls in Paulend and Sources of
Assistance in Finding First Job

Sources of Assistance	Gr. IX or less (44)	Gr. X & XI (91)	Gr. XII, XIII & Sp. Comm. (67)	Total (202)
	%	%	%	%
High Schools and Teachers.....	—	3	39	14
Personal Contacts.....	25	33	15	25
Self.....	52	43	27	40
Part-Time Work.....	5	7	4	5
NES.....	9	5	13	9
Other.....	7	9	—	5
Unknown.....	2	—	1	1
Total.....	100	100	99	99

APPENDIX III

TABLE 5

Occupational Categories of Girls in Paulend and Source
of Assistance in Finding First Job

Sources of Assistance	White Collar (126)	Skilled (10)	Semi- Skilled (10)	Un- Skilled (56)	Total (202)
	%	No.	No.	%	%
High Schools and Teachers.....	23	—	—	—	14
Personal Contact.....	24	5	—	28	25
Self.....	28	5	10	54	40
Part-Time Work.....	5	—	—	9	5
NES.....	10	—	—	9	9
Other.....	9	—	—	—	5
Unknown.....	2	—	—	—	1
Total.....	101	10	10	100	99

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